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Professional Identity in a Multi-agency Team

A thesis submitted to Durham University

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education

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Abstract

Although multi-agency working isn't a new concept, the previous Labour government encouraged professionals and services to work collaboratively and in partnership to address issues of social exclusion, poverty and deprivation in order to provide support and interventions to children, young people and their families.

As a result, a range of initiatives and programmes under the banner of multi-agency working were developed in health, education and social services aimed at addressing these issues. One such initiative was the development of the multi-agency Behaviour and Education Support Teams (BEST). Previous research into multi-agency working has tended to focus on the structural development of the multi-agency service, including the barriers and benefits to multi-agency working. Less research has been undertaken on the perceptions, experiences and views of the individuals working within those multi-agency teams.

Using a grounded theory approach this thesis explores the perceptions and experiences of individuals working in a multi-agency team, considering the impact multi-agency working has had on individual team members, their interactions with one another and selected school staff, co-located within a secondary school. In analysing the data (content analysis, observations and semi-structured interviews) the use of a qualitative research methodological approach has enabled the research to identify an emerging category of professional identity and three properties; roles and responsibilities, knowledge and skills and terminology. Running through the discussion of each of these three properties is the issue of co-location. The research will draw on examples taken from the data to illustrate and to inform throughout.

Using Wenger's (1998) 'communities of practice' as a theoretical framework, this research then considers the emerging theme of professional identity and how multi-agency teams and selected school staff negotiate the experience of self [identity]. Finally the research asks and answers the question 'Is BEST a 'community of practice'?

This work is dedicated to:

To my parents Rod and Jeanne-my past

To my husband Geoff-my present

To my sons Rolf and Laurie-my future

Without you there is no me

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I cannot begin to thank all of the people who have supported me in this journey over the past 6 years in their kind words of encouragement and expert knowledge and skills. However there are a few people to whom I must thank personally.

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Declaration

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the prior written consent and information derived from it should acknowledged.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

.... different services, agencies and teams of professionals and other staff working together to provide the services that fully meet the needs of children, young people and their parents or carers

(DfES; 2004:18)

1.1 Background

The starting point for this research is the idea of multi-agency working. More specifically this research is concerned with the perceptions of individuals working in a multi-agency setting.

One of the many themes encouraged by the previous Labour government to address issues of social exclusion, poverty and deprivation was the themes of collaboration and partnership (Cochrane, 2000; Dyson and Robson, 1999). These themes have often manifested themselves in the encouragement of partnership working and the development of multi-agency teams; professionals working together who are able to provide a range of support and interventions to children, young people and their families. Every Child Matters: Change for Children talks about multi-agency working as;

..... different services, agencies and teams of professionals and other staff working together to provide the services that fully meet the needs of children, young people and their parents or carers. To work successfully on a multi-agency basis you need to be clear about your own role and aware of the roles of other professionals; you need to be clear about your own standards and targets and respectful of those that apply to other services, actively seeking and respecting the knowledge and input others can make to delivering best outcomes for children and young people.

(DfES, 2004:18)

Multi-agency working isn't new, but the emphasis on multi-agency working by the previous government has lead to the development of a range of initiatives and programmes under the banner of multi-agency working in health, education and social services aimed at addressing issues of social exclusion.

One of the government's initiatives at the time was the development of the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) which was established in 2002, as part of the then government's Street Crime Initiative (Hallam, 2005). The aim of the programme was to address issues of exclusion and truancy and to improve pupil behaviour and poor school attendance in pupils aged 5-18. The objectives of the Behaviour Improvement Programme were;

- to improve the overall standards of behaviour within targeted schools
- to reduce unauthorized absences
- to reduce exclusions
- to provide a key worker for identified 'at risk' pupils
- to provide full time education for all excluded pupils, known as Day 1 Provision.

(Hallam, 2005:5)

Although the objectives of the programme were predefined as part of the Behaviour Improvement Programme grant specifications, local authorities and their schools were allowed to 'select' from a menu of suggested strategies and/or develop strategies of their own to meet the programme objectives. The strategies suggested by the government at the time were;

- The development of whole school approaches to promote good behaviour, which were informed by the behaviour audit, which was a key component of the Behaviour and Attendance strand, which was launched in 2003, of the National Strategies
- Early support for pupils at risk of developing behaviour problems
- The co-ordinating support of a key worker who could provide for or broker support as and when needed
- High quality Learning Support Units (LSUs) which had been a key component of the Excellence in Cities programme
- Innovative approaches to teaching and learning in schools, which was supported by the Behaviour and Attendance strand of the National Strategies
- Truancy measures; including measures to identify pupils who were not attending school

- Full Service Extended Schools, which had previously been piloted in a few local authorities
- Police in schools known as a Safer Schools Partnerships (SSP)
- Behaviour and Education Support Teams-drawing together the full range of support for vulnerable families

(Hallam, 2005:5)

The last of these strategies was the development of multi-agency teams known as Behaviour and Education Support Teams (BEST) to provide multi-agency support in line with the government themes of partnership and collaboration. BEST were developed as multi-agency teams who worked with children and young people between the ages of 5-18. The key to the success of BEST was

their ability to bring together the skills, perspectives and experience of a range of practitioners to create an effective and motivated multi-disciplinary team which can offer earlier and more individualized support to children and their families.

(Good Practice Guidance for BEST, 2003:5)

In spite of the government's encouragement of multi-agency working, there were no formally agreed frameworks or structures within which to locate the development of different types of multi agency working. Different agencies were allowed to develop and deliver services with minimal input on how this might be accomplished. Tett (2007) argued that in researching multi-agency working, there was the need to understand the how and why different models of multi-agency working have developed in the way they have.

In trying to understand multi-agency working, we need to consider the differing conceptions of the purpose of these partnerships

(Tett, 2007:435)

Previous research into multi-agency working has tended to focus on the structural development of the multi-agency service. Research by Tett et al. (2003) identified reasons why services would choose to work together; to avoid working in isolation from one another, added value, broaden the scope and scale of interventions, address complex social issues, virtuous nature of collaboration. Further research (Tett et al., 2003; Hallam, 2005) into multi-agency working has identified a number of benefits and challenges in professionals from different services working

together, including the use of different terminology, differing ideologies and values, differing cultures and procedures and differing working practices. Hudson (2002) further defines professional identity as a barrier to multi-agency working.

Although much of the research into multi-agency working has concentrated on structure of the team, barriers and benefits to multi-agency working, there was little research on the perceptions, experiences and views of the individuals working in multi-agency teams. However, Anning et al. (2006) research into the MATCH (Multi-agency Teamwork for Children's Services) project focused on trying to understand how multi-agency teams made joined up working a reality. They were interested in the process of becoming a multi-agency team from the perspective of the individuals making up the team.

1.2 Purpose and Significance of the Study

The aim of this small scale research project was to look at the impact multi-agency working has had on the individual members of one multi-agency team (BEST) and selected school staff, all of whom are located within a secondary school. The research is concerned with the processes of being a multi-agency team e.g. the perceptions and experiences of individual members of the team, their interactions with one another and with secondary school staff. The research was not concerned with the impact the individual members of the team had in addressing issues of challenging student behaviour, student disaffection or their poor attendance in schools. In essence as with Anning et al. (2006) the researcher was more interested in the process of becoming a multi-agency team than in the outcomes generated by the team.

In considering perceptions and views of members of a multi-agency team, the research was also interested in individuals' perceptions in relation to some of those factors, which previous research (Tett et al., 2001; Cameron and Lart, 2003; Ball, 1997) has shown can hinder and/or support multi-agency working.

The research focused on the processes of individuals coming together to form a multi-agency team and selected school staff they interacted with. The objectives of the research were to;

1. Consider the experiences individual team members have in sharing their knowledge and skills with individuals from other professions, while working in a multi-agency team. Tett et al. (2001) suggest that the failure to share professional knowledge with colleagues and the concern individuals and groups have towards their loss of autonomy and control when working with other services is a factor that can hinder successful multi-agency working.
2. Consider the experiences individual team members have in developing and maintaining their individual roles and responsibilities while working in a multi-agency team. Cameron and Lart (2003) suggest that clarity in roles and responsibilities for individuals within the partnership is needed for successful multi-agency working
3. Consider the experiences and views of selected secondary school staff, in sharing knowledge and skills with the multi-agency team, within the secondary school in which the team was based.
4. Consider the experiences of selected secondary school staff in their understanding of the individual roles and responsibilities of the multi-agency team members.
5. Consider the use of specific terminology in relation to expectations of individual members of what it means to work in a 'joined up' manner. There are a plethora of terms used to describe different ways of 'joined up working'. Language is important argues Tisdall (2004) in shaping the way professionals work together and there is often a subtle but important difference in the words used, which is a factor when different professionals work together in a multi-agency setting.
6. Consider the impact of co-locating the multi-agency team within a secondary school setting. Cameron and Lart (2003) suggest that co-location is a factor that can hinder the development of multi-agency teams.

1.3 Outline of the Study

Chapter 2, the literature review will attempt to set in context the policy developments, which enabled a more 'joined up' approach to addressing issues of social exclusion under the previous Labour government to develop. The chapter also discusses conceptual frameworks and models which have been developed to describe multi-agency working at both a strategic and operational level. There are many terms used to refer to 'multi-agency' working and this chapter will explore the issues arising from the use of differing terms to describe 'joined up' working. Finally the chapter will set out some of the reasons for and barriers to multi-agency working including a discussion on professional identity, identified by Hudson (2002) as one of the barriers to agencies working together in a multi-agency team.

If chapter 2 sets out the wider political context and issues around multi-agency working, chapter 3 attempts to locate the research within the national and local context surrounding the development of one multi-agency team. The chapter discusses the national policy leading to the development of the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) and its outcomes for children, young people and their families. The chapter also looks at the local context within one local authority and the development of their multi-agency Behaviour and Education Support Teams (BEST) and this researcher's relationship with the development of the teams. It explores the schools involved in the Behaviour Improvement Programme and the funding arrangements for each cluster of schools. Finally the chapter discusses issues of management and supervision of BEST.

Chapter 4 explores the research methodology used to undertaking research into perceptions of individuals with a multi-agency team and selected school staff. Using a qualitative research methodological approach the chapter looks at the rationale and background for using a grounded theory approach and why its use is suitable for this study. The chapter discusses the theoretical background of grounded theory including some of the issues associated with this type of approach and how these might be addressed. The chapter also discusses issues of reliability and validity in using a grounded theory approach as well as exploring these issues further in the discussion on data collection towards the end of the chapter.

As researchers, there is a need to understand how our style interacts with the research and there is no escaping from the world that we live it in order to research it (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). In the discussion on access, the role of the researcher is explored, including her professional relationship with members of BEST and the impact this has had on the research. This chapter also looks at data collection; content analysis, observations and interviews. Within this discussion issues of confidentiality, bias, reliability and validity are addressed in relation to each of the data collection methods. Finally the chapter discusses data analysis and the use of a grounded theory approach. Throughout the chapter the researcher draws on examples taken from the data collected to inform and illustrate the discussion.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings of the research. A grounded theory approach has identified an emerging category and three properties. This chapter explores the emerging category of professional identity and the three properties of; roles and responsibilities and professional identity, knowledge and skills and professional identity and terminology and professional identity. Running through the discussion of each of these three properties is the issue of co-location. In using a grounded theory approach to analysing the data, co-location was considered to be a thread running throughout the properties identified and it will inform the research findings. The researcher will draw on examples taken from the data to illustrate and to inform throughout the discussion.

Using Wenger's 'communities of practice' (1998) as a theoretical framework chapter 6 looks at the emerging theme of professional identity and how BEST and selected school staff negotiate 'the experience of self' [identity] in relation to roles and responsibilities, knowledge and skills and terminology in a multi-agency setting. The chapter provides a brief overview of the theories of learning, engaging in a more in depth discussion on the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and the development of 'communities of practice' asking and answering the question 'What is a community of practice?' Within this discussion consideration is paid to issues which other researchers (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2004; Jewson, 2007; Fuller and Unwin, 2004; Rainbird et al., 2004; Hager, 2005) have posed when considering the concept of 'communities of practice'.

The chapter further discusses each of the emerging properties in relation to identity. Wenger (1998) argues that the formation of 'identity' is through the negotiation of experiences; which is located in the discussion of the research findings in respect to roles and responsibilities. Identity is not only formed through the negotiation of experiences, it can also be considered as a form of competence argues Wenger (1998). I suggest then that part of an individual identity is made up of their knowledge and skills. The chapter also discusses the use of language and the role language plays in forming our identities. Finally in this chapter I explore the possibility of BEST being a 'community of practice'.

1.4 Concluding Comments

This chapter then has attempted to set out the personal and professional reasons for undertaking this research. It has also provided an overview of the discussion undertaken in each of the chapters, touching on the various issues which will be discussed in more depth throughout this thesis. The presentation of this thesis reflects the journey undertaken using a grounded theory approach and is therefore presented in a slightly different format; that is throughout the thesis there is further discussion of the research and literature used to inform research findings as they unfold. Although the majority of the research into multi-agency working is discussed in the literature review in chapter 2, there are further points where additional literature is discussed in depth, notably in chapter 6, where a discussion of Wenger's work into 'communities of practice' provides the starting point for an exploration of the emerging theme of professional identity and 'communities of practice.' I felt that this approach best reflected the unfolding journey and any presentation of this literature prior to discussion in the final chapter would not have been a true reflection of the process undertaken. The next chapter, the literature review will set the wider political context within which the research takes place as well as discussing issues in relation to multi-agency working.

Chapter 2

A Critical Review of the Research into Multi-agency Working

Schools cannot do everything on their own; they need the support of many agencies, though experience from inspection shows that a plethora of uncoordinated and poorly managed support can be more disruptive than helpful. Nonetheless, over the last two years, there is evidence to show that some schools have gained considerably from a multiagency approach to addressing the issues associated with disadvantage

(Education and Training Inspectorate, 2005)

2.1 Introduction

The literature review begins with the context in which multi-agency working has been developed under the previous Labour government and works its way through a number of issues before ending with a discussion around professional identity within a multi-agency team.

This chapter takes a broad overview of the policy developments which have lead to multi-agency working, in order to understand the context in which multi-agency work was developed under the previous government. It then sets out the policy developments within New Labour which lead to the increased push for the development of multi-agency working and services working closer together.

Then, in trying to understand multi-agency working within a theoretical framework this chapter will also discuss the attempt to establish frameworks to describe the structures and purposes underpinning the work of multi-agency teams. Tisdall (2004) has cited the importance of language in shaping the way professionals work together. There follows a discussion on the use of differing terminology to describe the process of 'joined up' working and the role language has had in shaping multi-agency work.

Once frameworks have been established and issues of terminology have been considered, there is a discussion on strategic reasons for services to be re-formed into multi-agency partnerships, which includes a section on factors which support and factors which hinder multi-agency working. Finally there is further exploration of one of these factors, that of professional identity.

2.2 Policy Development

From 1997 until 2010 under the New Labour government there were a number of initiatives focused on reducing social exclusion and promoting social inclusion across the health and education sectors (Anning et al., 2006). One of these initiatives was to bring services together to work collaboratively to address complex issues within education; multi-agency working. Research into multi-agency working has tended to focus on the impact of 'joining up' services on the outcomes in addressing social exclusion as opposed to the impact on the individuals involved in working in this way.

Prior to New Labour coming to power in 1997, the main thrust of policy development in education lay in a neo-liberal strategy which

....demands changes in the regulation (governance) of both the public and private sectors. For the public sector, it involves privatisation, liberalisation, and an imposition of commercial criteria in any residual state sector.
(Jessop, 1994:30)

A moral environment was created in the public sector which fostered a culture of self interest and education became part of the 'quality revolution' (Ball, 1997; Oakland, 1991) The impact of this thinking which was located in the policy framework created by the 1988 and subsequent Education Acts put in place the '*...infrastructure and incentives of the market form and introduced the 'steering' possibilities of performance-related funding and accountability*' (Ball 1997:4).

Although previous governments attempted to address welfare issues, according to Clark and Newman (1997) the conservative government's attempts to address welfare issues through the use of market forces resulted in bureaucratic administration and discrete professionalism, which resulted in services that according to Glennerster (1997) were criticized for being fragmented, lacking in responsiveness and with too much duplication.

Into a climate in which the public sector was market lead, New Labour came to power in 1997. At the time it was argued that when they came into power they inherited high levels of poverty, deprivation and social exclusion (SEU, 1997;

Milbourne et al., 2003). However poverty, deprivation and social exclusion are not new issues. Since the beginning of state welfarism, successive governments have tried to ameliorate the effects of poverty and its impact on life chances. However Lloyd (2000) argued that the landslide victory of New Labour raised the hopes of the country that issues relating to social injustice would finally be seriously addressed and that the welfare agenda would be at the heart of government policy (Bagley et al., 2004).

New Labour set about developing a set of policies and strategies to address welfare issues. Gewirtz (2002) uses the term 'post-welfarism' to refer to the different set of welfare politics that New Labour's policy agenda was premised on. Rather than dispense totally with policies brought about under the previous government, New Labour took as the basis for many of their policies, key strands established under the Conservative government (Milbourne et al., 2003). Among the strands incorporated into New Labour's policies were the view that professionals with vested interests could be as much a part of the problem as a part of the solution, that bureaucracy could be ineffective as well as effective to delivering services (Chubb and Moe, 1990; Pollitt, 1993; Glennerster, 1997) and that marketisation could have benefits (Gewirtz, 2002). This approach was labelled as the 'Third Way'.

Leadbetter (1998) argues that the 'Third Way' was the most radical rewiring of Britain's political machinery for centuries. This middle way, was a compromise, an alternative to state and market solutions, which acknowledged that there were benefits brought about by global capitalism and marketisation (Bagley et al., 2004; Giddons, 1998). However while acknowledging that there were benefits from flexible markets and the use of the private sector, there was also the acknowledgment that marketisation would not and could not benefit everyone. Certain groups and/or individuals could be and were excluded and put at a disadvantage within the competitive market place (Bagley et al., 2004). Bennington and Donnison (1997) suggest that the shift under New Labour was towards the processes, policies and institutions, which cause or reinforce poverty by excluding people.

Bagley et al. (2004) have described the 'Third Way' as providing a framework and the mechanisms of support to enable and empower both individuals and groups to provide solutions to their problems. The result of this 'Third Way' was the development of new working practices and relationships that have directed services to work together; central and local governments as well as service providers and recipients (Bagley, et al., 2004). Government reforms to the welfare state attempted to

reshape the systems of provision, the forms of organisational control and directions and the relations between leaders, staff and customers involved in the production and delivery of welfare outcomes.

(Clarke et al., 2000:1)

This was a new way of working (Tett et al., 2003 and Bagley, 2004) moving away from the traditional approach of thinking about the needs and service provision in terms of the interests of professional groups and 'bureaucratic boundaries', and instead thinking about services that are delivered locally and client led. Added to this (Blyth, 2001) was the idea of integrated service provision which aimed to develop new partnerships between local communities, private companies, the voluntary sector and the government.

The aim of government policy then was to be more strategic; linking policies that contributed to similar issues together, encouraging the pooling of budgets and the combining of resources and services to work together in partnership to address welfare issues (Clarke et al., 2000). These policies were intended to focus on the 'political margins' argue Tett et al. (2003), to work with disadvantaged communities and groups.

In order to put policy into practice the government created the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) (SEU, 1997). The SEU's aim was to address the issues of social exclusion, in which individuals and communities were unable to access the rights, opportunities and resources available to others. The creation of the Social Exclusion Unit sought to ensure that the issue of social exclusion remained at the heart of the government's reform (Bennington & Donnison, 1999). The Social Exclusion Unit was responsible for promoting social inclusion and fighting social exclusion, which included addressing issues of poverty and disaffection. One of

their priorities was to reduce the number of exclusions from schools. The Social Exclusion Unit also created a level of accountability to services attempting to address the issue of social exclusions. It was responsible argues Bagely et al. (2004) for ensuring that departments were made accountable if their services did not contribute to the 'eradication' of social exclusion.

In the establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit, Bennington and Donnison (1999) suggest that the government was shifting away from the somewhat narrow view of welfare issues, which were concerned with issues of material deprivation and poverty, and being replaced with a much broader view; a view which recognised the wider social and cultural factors which were brought into play when issues of social exclusion were considered. Anning et al. (2006) suggests that the government was acknowledging that there was an 'interconnectedness' between the issues of housing, health, education, social services, law enforcement, employment and family support. Bennington and Donnison (1999) have also suggested that references made by New Labour to social exclusion were meant to encompass wider issues concerning personal and family circumstances and the quality of life. They defined social exclusion as

the forces and factors which may exclude people from the resources, services and opportunities enjoyed by those in the political, economic and social mainstream of a given society.

Bennington and Donnison (1999, pp 47-48)

Another definition of social exclusion is provided by Warmington et al. (2004:13) who define social exclusion as '*the loss of access to life changes that connect individuals to the mainstream of social participation*'. In understanding the complex nature of social exclusion then, New Labour sought to recognise that social exclusion was damaging not only to the individual but to all levels of society and across generations, often passing down from one generation to another within families and communities (Power, 2001).

In addressing issues of social exclusion New Labour was promoting the concept of 'joined up' working. Their argument was, that in the past working in isolation from one another resulted in agencies and professionals working at best in parallel with one another and at worst in conflict. However, although the Social Exclusion Unit

advocated 'joined up' working to address issues of social exclusion, the concept of multi-agency working is not new to New Labour (Cochrane, 2000; Dyson and Robson, 1999). Previous governments' guidance has often stressed the need for professionals to work together (DEE, 1995; DoH, 1994, UK Government, 1994). The Social Exclusion Unit merely reinforced this approach by advocating the need for 'joined up' working to meet the needs of the more disadvantaged communities (Easen et al., 2000).

Thus in recognising the need to draw together differing sectors and sources of welfare the government were seeking to acknowledge that issues concerning social exclusion were complex, with factors interrelated to one another, they were not confined to just one or two factors that could be dealt with by a single agency and concerned everyone. Hence the Social Exclusion Unit advocated 'joined up' policies in order to produce a more coherent response from public services (Milbourne, 2005; Riddell and Tett, 2001). Finally argued Anning et al. (2006) there was an acknowledgment that social problems and economic problems had an interconnectiveness and could be related to one another. By further linking 'joined up' policies with the pursuit of social justice New Labour argued that

the welfare state must be shaped by the changing nature of people's lives, rather than people's lives being changed to fit in with the changing nature of the welfare state.

(Riddell and Tett, 2001: 2)

In creating this 'Third Way' the intention was that boundaries would be blurred, establishing partnerships between the state and civil society (Power, 2001). Part of the remit of the Social Exclusion Unit was to ensure that collaboration occurred to address issues of social exclusion. Funding was provided via the Social Exclusion Unit to allow for the development at local levels of innovative and experimental opportunities, which promoted collaborative and partnership working. This provided for the development of initiatives such as Education Action Zones, Health Action Zones, Excellence in Cities, Behaviour Improvement Programme, and Local Area Agreements. In theory there was a shift in the power relationship between the providers and the recipients of welfare.

This concept of 'joined up ness' subsequently led New Labour to argue for the use of a multi-agency partnership approach, an approach which would benefit from the strength and expertise of a variety of welfare perspectives, more able to meet the needs of the socially excluded (Milbourne et al., 2003). This partnership approach resulted in a number of government policies which promoted joined up working across health, social services, police and other agencies (Tomlinson, 2003). In health the White Paper Our Healthier Nation: Saving Lives (DOH, 1999-GB. Parliament HoC, 1998) and the Health Act (DOH, 1999-GB. Statutes, 1999) provided a framework for partnership working between the NHS and local authorities. Within social services the White Paper Modernising Social Services (DOH, 1998) promoted more effective coordination of services between social services, health, housing and other services. The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (GB. Statutes, 1998) established multi-agency youth offending teams (YOT). Recently, The Children Act 2004 and Every Child Matters agenda promoted integrated front line delivery, processes, strategy and governance which was supported through the setting up of Children's Trusts (Anning et al., 2006).

However alongside this partnership approach New Labour also stressed increased levels of accountability. Simultaneously to the Social Exclusion Unit being established, the agenda for 'Modernising Government' (Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions [DETR], 1999) stressed the need for higher levels of accountability and value for money (Milbourne, 2005). A double edged sword was created, on one side the government was promoting empowerment at the local level and on the other side the government was seeking to control the national workforce with centrally-imposed systems of monitoring and inspections (Anning et al., 2006). Milbourne (2005) argues that not only did this constrain the scope and design of new initiatives but it also constrained the flexibility to create projects which were able to meet the needs of disaffected individuals, groups and communities. Part of their agenda was to ensure accountability if the predetermined outcomes of these initiatives were met, successes would be rewarded, however projects were also subject to predetermined, prescribed outcomes and performance targets which if not met would mean sanctions (Bagley et al., 2004). This agenda, argues Anning et al. (2006), led to the development of a performance management framework, a 'top down' approach of monitoring, target setting and inspection. The creation of this

framework implied that the primary concern of bureaucrats was in defending their vested interests with too much time wasting and duplication, this was due in part to the '*suspicion of the power held by local government professionals*' (Anning et al., 2006: 3).

This 'top down' approach of monitoring, target setting and inspection was combined with a 'bottom up' approach of multi-agency and partnership working to support the individual and community (Bagley et al., 2004; Gustafsson and Driver, 2005). Gewirtz (1998) and Milbourne (2002) argue however that this agenda constrained the design, flexibility and creative possibilities of new initiatives whose very ability to be creative and flexible resulted in successful work with disaffected groups.

By joining up public, private and voluntary sectors the intention was to create a new 'synergy' between these sectors (Giddons, 1998). The aim of these 'joined up' services was to make them more flexible to local needs and more efficient in reducing the overlap of diagnosis, treatment and recording systems (Anning et al., 2006). This 'bottom up' approach argued Simpson et al. (2003) allowed for locally based initiatives to be more socially inclusive, building on local strengths and promoting community participation, with the local community 'owning' both the problem and the solutions. On the other hand service users were suddenly expected to play a role not only in shaping the type of services available, but also how these services were to be delivered (Tett et al., 2003). Mayo (1997) and Mordaunt (2001) suggest that there is little evidence that involving service users has been an empowering process; rather they suggest that service users have been used for a range of ideological purposes and as a way of engaging with the disadvantage.

Riddell & Tett, (2001) and Tett et al., (2003) argue that the involvement of service users in the process of shaping services isn't without issues. The process of involving individuals, groups and communities was not always an empowering process for those concerned. Tett (2003) cites the example of parent led groups struggling to have their voices heard. The professionals were focused on telling the parents how to be better at helping their children with their homework rather

than seeing that parents were experts in relation to their own interests. As Tett (2003) points out

the professionals needed to listen carefully to what the community was saying but, at the beginning of the project, they were quite selective about what they wanted to hear.

(Tett, 2003:18)

On the other hand, research undertaken into one Sure Start programme (Mazebrook) by Bagely et al. (2006) was an example of where service users were involved in the commissioning of services to support their locality needs. In their evaluation of a Sure Start project Bagely et al. (2004) talk about the consultation process with parents and the community, including the use of questionnaires, consultation and awareness-raising days to gather information about community needs. In this instance information gathered from families has led to changes in practice in baby clinics, with the 'restructuring' of baby clinics to meet the needs of the families which attended them. Bagely and Ackerley (2006) further cite examples in their evaluation of the Mazebrook Sure Start of parents involvement in interviewing panels, which attempted to ensure that additional appointments to Sure Start staff reflected the 'ethos and philosophy' of their community.

'In trying to understand multi-agency working, we need to consider the differing conceptions of the purpose of these partnerships' (Tett, 2007:435). Partnership working may offer the potential for some innovative, integrated and holistic outcomes for children, young people and their families but that isn't to say that it isn't without problems. As Anning (2001:2) states, *'the difficulty arises in trying to make the rhetoric of joined up services a reality'*.

2.3 Framework Models for Multi-agency Working

Although the government championed multi-agency working, at the time there were no frameworks provided for the establishment and delivery of multi-agency services. Professionals were left to develop and deliver services with the minimal amount of information on how this might be accomplished. Warmington et al., (2007) argue that at the time multi-agency working was being advocated little attention was being paid to conceptualizing inter-agency collaboration. Research

(Tett et al., 2001; Lloyd et al., 2001) into multi-agency services already established has identified a number of different types of collaboration or partnership working. Services working in a multi-agency manner could include; *ad hoc* discussions between different professionals, meetings at which a variety of professionals are represented and professionals from different services collaborating on small pieces of work. Multi-agency working could include co-location of teams in the same office, joint referral systems between different services and services funded jointly by different services. Multi-agency working could also vary in size from two individuals from different agencies working together to large multi-agency teams working together holistically to support the needs of the individual and their families. There could even be confusion at a conceptual level between the language used e.g. 'multi-disciplinary' and 'multi-agency' to describe 'joined up' working.

In order to try and understand the establishment and delivery of multi-agency working within a theoretical framework or model, evaluations of existing services were looked at (Atkinson et al., 2002; Dyson et al., 1998; Audit Commission, 1998 and Ovretreit, 1993; Tett et al., 2007; Frost, 2005). Of the many frameworks developed, six are illustrated here, each of which describes differing 'models' of multi-agency working;

1. Ovretreit (1993) Management structure
2. Audit Commission (1998) Organisational structure
3. Atkinson et al. (2002) Structure outlining the purpose of professionals
4. Dyson et al. (1998) Analysing multi-agency working
5. Tett (2007) Underlying reasons for partnerships
6. Frost (2005) Terminology

These models can be grouped into two groups; the first group is defined by specific aspects in relation to the team's structure; management, organisation and purpose (Ovretreit, 1993; Audit Commission, 1998; Atkinson et al., 2002). The second group is defined by the reasoning which underpins multi-agency working (Dyson et al., 1998; Frost, 2005; Tett, 2007). The following discussion looks at each of these frameworks in more detail, wherever possible drawing from research.

2.3.1 Group 1-Structures

The first group consists of Ovretreit's (1993) management structure, the Audit Commission's organisational perspective (1998) and Atkinson's (2002) framework based on definitions of multi-agency working. All three develop frameworks in relation to specific aspects of the team e.g. management, organization and purpose.

The first framework was developed by Ovretreit, (1993) for use in the health service. This framework takes a 'management' perspective of multi-agency working; it is hierarchical, with a team manager or leader within the team, who has overall responsibility and accountability for the services provided.

Team Type/Model	Descriptor
Fully managed team	Team manager accountable for all management and team members' performances
Co-ordinated team	One person does most management work but not accountable for individual team members' work
Core and extended team	Core team members fully managed by team leader but extended team members (usually part time) managed in other agencies
Joint accountability team	Most team tasks, including leadership, undertaken by team corporately, often delegating to individual members
Network associations	No 'formal' team but professionals from different agencies meet together for common service goals with same client group. Each practitioner managed in own agency

Table 2.1 Multi-agency Teams-Management Perspective (Ovretreit, 1993)

In their research into multi-agency working, Anning et al. (2006) argue that Ovretreit's model is a simplistic framework that does not always capture the complexity, tensions and the diversity of the employment and management structures of multi-disciplinary teams in comparison to single agency teams. The framework fails to take into account professionals who were jointly line managed, through their professional body as well as through the multi-agency team. The framework also fails to take into account professionals who were seconded or

worked part time, which Anning et al. (2006) argue could affect the way staff felt valued and committed to the team.

The second conceptual framework, developed by the Audit Commission (1998), outlines the different types of multi-agency teams from an 'organisational' perspective. The framework focuses on how agencies could work across services. The team types range from the formal development of a 'new organisation' to joint working between partner agencies.

Team Type/Model	Descriptor
Formation of a separate legal entity	Organisations come together to form a new organisation with a new and separate identity from any of the partners. The new organisation employs its own staff.
Formation of a virtual organisation	A separate organisation is formed but without generating a new legal identity. One agency is responsible for employing the staff and managing resources for the new organisation.
Co-locating staff from partner organisations	Staff from partner organisations are co-located to work together, but are still employed by their own agency.
Steering groups without dedicated resources	Partners come together as a steering group but the group does not have its own resources and thus decisions are implemented through the individual partners' own agencies.

Table 2.2 Multi-agency Teams-Organisational Perspective (Atkinson et al., 2005)

This framework covers anything from large scale strategic partnerships to small scale community partnerships and was developed in the context of single projects and/or initiatives, drawn together to address a single issue or project. Tomlinson (2003) argues it provides a useful checklist for the development of multi-agency working. It can also be used to highlight areas where issues might occur.

Research by Hallam et al. (2005) into the development of Behaviour and Education Support Teams (BEST) highlighted some of the factors in trying to

develop a new team, which were in part due to the issues created by Human Resources in employing health and social work professionals within educational settings e.g. the formation of a virtual organisation (Hallam et al., 2005).

The third conceptual framework was developed by Atkinson et al. (2002) and can be used to define the purpose of multi-agency working.

Team Type	Descriptor
Decision-making groups	Provide a forum in which professionals from different agencies meet and discuss and make decisions, largely at strategic level
Consultation and training	Where professionals from one agency enhance the expertise of those from another usually at the operational level
Centre-based delivery	Gathering a range of expertise on the site in order to deliver a more coordinated and comprehensive service. Services may not be delivered jointly, but exchange of information and ideas is facilitated
Coordinated delivery	A coordinator pulls together disparate services and facilitates a more cohesive response to need through collaboration between agencies involved in the delivery of services. Delivery by professionals is operational, while the coordinator also operates strategically
Operational team delivery	Professionals from different agencies work together on a day to day basis forming a cohesive multi-agency team delivering services directly to clients

Table 2.3 Multi-agency Teams-Purpose (Tomlinson, 2003)

Atkinson et al. (2005) argues that in this framework the most frequent types of groups were those engaged in decision-making and coordinated delivery, with operational team delivery the least frequent type of team. Tomlinson (2003) makes reference to the work of Atkinson et al. (2005), defining the categorization of teams within this framework as having either a strategic or operational focus of activity. Hallam et al. (2005) provide four examples of Behaviour and Education Support Teams which were developed in the first and second phase of the Behaviour Improvement Programme. These examples are of coordinated team delivery, to support a shared agenda with secondary and primary schools. One aspect lacking

in this framework is the more strategic overview, which is developed a bit further in the Audit Commission model outlined above.

Ovretreit (1993) has looked at multi-agency working and categorized teams according to how they are managed, ranging from a fully managed team, with a manager accountable for all management and team members performance, to network associations, with no 'formal' team but professionals meeting up with common service goals with the same client. The Audit Commission (1998) looked at teams from an 'organisational' perspective. This includes the formation of a multi-agency team which becomes a new organisation in itself, separate in its identity from any of the original partners and employing its own staff to joint steering groups without any dedicated resources, where decisions are implemented through the individual partners own agencies. Atkinson et al. (2002) have looked at the purpose of multi-agency teams, from decision –making groups, which provide a forum for different professionals to meet, discuss and make decisions, usually at a strategic level to operational team delivery, with different agencies working together on a day to day basis. These frameworks are useful when looking at the range of opportunities to work in a 'joined up' manner between services.

Research by Cameron and Lart (2003) supports these models of 'joined up' working giving operational examples of 'joined up' working. In their research undertaken through a literature review of 32 studies across health and social care they identified four types of 'joined up' working, which included;

- Placement schemes
- Multi-agency teams and projects
- Case or care management
- Strategic level working

Cameron and Lart found that the largest group was where professionals crossed the organizational divide; these were labeled by Cameron and Lart as placement schemes. Within these schemes, professionals were 'placed' into another organisation e.g. a social worker was placed in a hospital 'ante-natal' service. This practice can be seen in the model described above which was developed by the

Audit Commission (1998) where staff are 'co-located to work together'. Case or care management included the devolution of budgets, which occurred in the four cases studied in the organisation of services for frail and elderly people and for disabled children. This type of 'joined up' working is also described in the model by the Audit Commission (1998) in the formulation of a virtual organisation-where the service is responsible for managing resources.

The second largest group identified by Cameron and Lart were those that developed multi-disciplinary or multi-agency teams. The majority of these teams were within the health services. They also identified examples of jointly managed multi-agency locality teams delivering health and social care into the community. This practice can be seen in the model described above by Ovretreit (1993) where there is 'joint accountability' within the team.

Finally a small number of studies identify strategic level working including joint planning and joint commissioning. This practice can be seen in the framework identified by Atkinson et al. (2002) which includes 'decision-making' groups at a strategic level.

2.3.2 Group 2-Purpose

The frameworks in the second group (Dyson et al., 1998; Frost, 2005; Tett, 2007) are concerned with the concepts that underpin multi-agency working. The fourth framework is by Dyson et al. (1998) which was developed following their research into agency cooperation in assessing and supporting the needs of pupils with special educational needs. The framework provides an '*aid to analysing and developing cooperation*' (Dyson et al., 1998:63) in order to support managers in analysing existing or future multi-agency work.

Team Type	Descriptor
Mutual cooperation	Agencies respond to each other's statutory responsibilities and have systems for responding to information requests. Cooperation occurs on areas, which do not infringe on specialist roles. The need for cooperation is acknowledged, yet practitioners can still work in what they see as the best interest of their clients and departments remain distinct
Shared responsibility	Agencies recognise the concept of need as multi-faceted and therefore requiring a multi-agency response
Natural lead	Different agencies will take the lead role at different stages of a client's life. Responsibility is unambiguous and information tends to be held centrally by the lead agency, but non-lead agencies may be unwilling to help fund projects not felt to be their priority and the transition process can be difficult
Community services	Individual need is seen in the broader context of the community need. Services are therefore devolved and centralised management structures dismantled, with the potential for extending provision through commercial partnership

Table 2.4 Multi-agency Team-Analysing Multi-agency Work (Tomlinson, 2003)

The strength of this conceptual framework of delivery argues Webb and Vulliamy (2001) is that it identifies '*some of the over-arching approaches to relationships between agencies to serve as an aid to analysing cooperation*' (2001:324). This framework exemplifies agencies working together in a way that is autonomous, which meets needs of children and young people in relation to their own service aims and objectives and according to their service timetable.

The fifth framework has been developed by Tett (2007) and takes a slightly different perspective. She talks about the need to understand the underlying reasons for partnerships and structures required to meet these needs; the dimensions of practice that influence the purposes and structures of multi-agency partnerships. She calls the two dimensions;

1. Institutional and professional boundaries
2. Pedagogic purpose

Underpinning the development of their conceptual framework Tett et al. (2001) argue that underpinning the two dimensions of practice; institutional boundaries and pedagogic purpose were differing views on how many local councils encouraged or discouraged community involvement in the local decision making process.

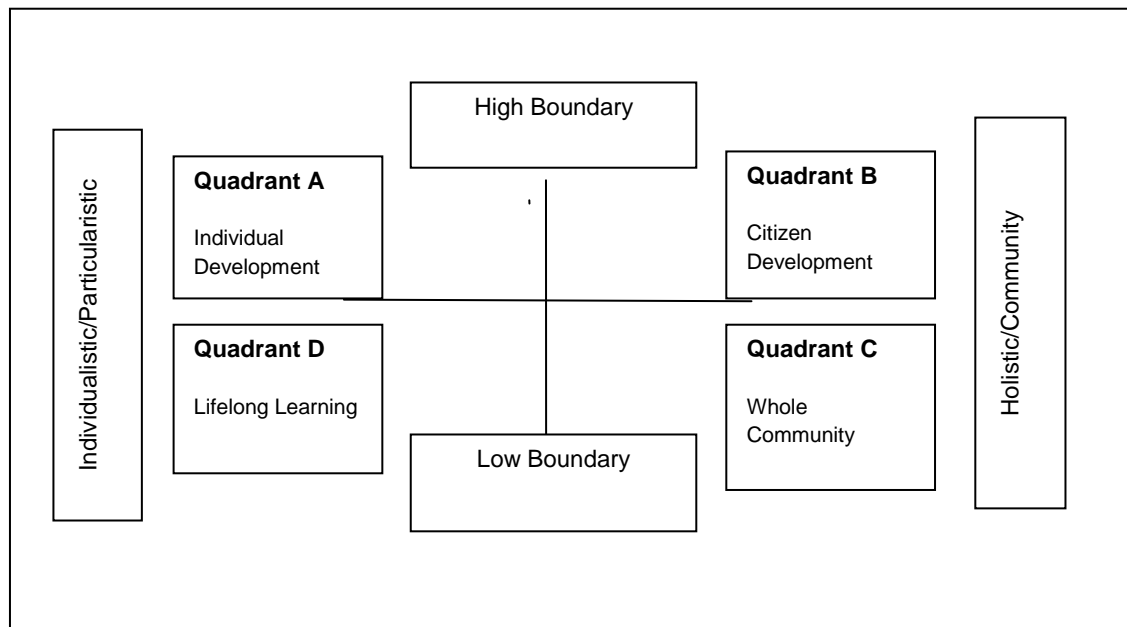


Diagram 2.1 Multi-agency Teams –Dimensions of Practice (Tett et al., 2001)

This model provides a continuum from which to explore 'joined up' working. At one end is decision making which is orientated toward the individual and at the other end is decision making which is participatory. Research by Tett (2007) suggested that when boundaries are low collaborative partnerships are more likely to encourage democratic community participation. In order for low boundaries to be achieved a number of things must be in place, these include:

- Process that give value to joint decision making by those involved
- Commitment by everyone involved including the wider community
- Institutions responding to the views of the community
- A shared view of the roles of those involved
- Appreciation of the strengths of a joined up approach (Tett, 2007:436)

Examples of low boundary work can be seen in the work of Mayo (1997). Mayo identified three models of joined-up working:

- Budget enlargement model
- Synergy model
- Transformational model

The first model which is an example of the value of joint decision making is the budget enlargement model. This is the most common argues Tett (2003) and this is due to the fact that many government initiatives require organisations to develop partnerships before the funding is made available. *'We found that we were included in a Social Inclusion Partnership at the last minute because the funding criteria suggested that a community-based organisation would be an asset'* (Tett, 2003:5).

The second model is an example of a joint commitment and is based on the knowledge that more funding is available if agencies work together to access funding. The second model is the Synergy Model, which is based on the idea that by combining knowledge, resources, approaches and operational cultures services can achieve more than they can on their own *'We recognised that we could get access to more resources and wider networks if we took part in the [name] Partnership than just working on our own'* (Tett, 2003:4).

The third model is the Transformational Model and is an example of a shared knowledge of the work being undertaken by others. *'All the professionals spent a day shadowing each other's work, so we had a good idea of what they did and how they approached it'* (Tett, 2003:10). This model assumes that by working together, ways of working will be transformed to the benefits of communities, with inter-organisational boundaries breaking down and assumptions about other services can be addressed, Overall Tett's model also links loosely with the barriers to multi-agency working which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The sixth framework uses terminology as a basis for its model. In order to address some of the epistemological confusion around the use of various terms to describe 'joined up' working, Frost (2005) has looked at terminology in his research and provided a framework based on a 'hierarchy of terms to characterize a continuum in partnership working' (Anning et al., 2006).

Level 1	Cooperation	Services work together towards consistent goals and complementary services, while maintaining their independence
Level 2	Collaboration	Services plan together and address issues of overlap, duplication and gaps in service provision towards common outcomes
Level 3	Coordination	Services work together in a planned and systematic manner towards shared and agreed goals
Level 4	Integration (merger)	Different services become one organization in order to enhance service delivery

Table 2.5 Hierarchy of Terms

(Anning et al., 2006:6-7)

The use of terminology can have an impact on multi-agency working. Frost (2005) argues that a professionals' knowledge base, along with their values, training etc. provide them with a particular professional identity. Although this framework could have been used to explain issues around terminology it is included in this section because it provides a framework to understand the workings of multi-agency teams. It also provides a framework for understanding the developments of multi-agency working from work developed around a case conference (cooperation) to the development of youth offending terms and full integrated services.

The frameworks in the second group (Dyson et al., 1998; Frost, 2005; Tett, 2007) are concerned with the reasoning that underpins multi-agency working. Dyson et al. framework can be used in analyzing multi-agency working. The framework provides an opportunity to describe and analyse the reasons leading to 'joined up working'. The framework includes mutual cooperation, where cooperation occurs in areas which do not infringe on specialist roles to community services, where individual needs are seen in the broader context of the community need. Tett's (2007) framework looks at the influences behind the purposes for developing multi-agency working including the role of local councils in '*encouraging participation in local decision making*' (Tett et al., 2001;13). The framework takes into consideration the conflict which can occur between differing services and their purposes. Frost's (2005) framework uses terminology to describe the continuum of multi-agency working. Anning et al. (2006) argue that whatever terminology is used to describe the practice in working in a multi-agency team, professionals gained their professional identity from their professional values, training and role in

their community. Frost's previous work on terminology (2001) however argued that even the word 'professional' can be linked to the use of knowledge and power in employment.

Although each framework presents a relatively simple template to understanding multi-agency working, the reality is that most multi-agency work will encompass varying aspects of each 'team type' concurrently (Atkinson et al., 2002; Bertram et al., 2002; Dyson et al., 1998). Research by Atkinson et al. (2002) showed that in the six case studies of multi-agency working all of the case studies involved two or more of the 'team types' identified. Similarly the evaluation by Webb and Vulliamy (2001) of a three year project to place home-school support workers into secondary schools showed that the project involved both a 'decision making' group and 'coordinated delivery' operational group as identified in the 'team types' presented by Atkinson et al. (2002) or if using Dyson's (1998) 'team types' 'mutual cooperation' and 'natural lead' models.

There is no research evidence to date that these frameworks are used as a template at the development stage of multi-agency working to inform how services are developed, although Frost (2005) provides a continuum of partnership working. Rather these frameworks can be used to describe and analyse the types of teams which have been developed. The frameworks and the 'team types' used by individual multi-agency groups will to some extent depend on the views held by professionals as to the reasons leading to the development of the partnerships and multi-agency working, the differing views on the purpose of the partnerships and the structures required to carry out the work required.

The previous discussion has explored the use of a number of frameworks to try and analyse the various types of multi-agency teams which have developed over the years. One of these frameworks (Frost, 2005) used terminology as a basis for its model, in order to address some of the confusion brought about by the use of differing terminology to describe 'joined up' working. Further work has been undertaken in the use of terminology to describe 'joined up' working which sits apart from the work of Frost (2005) in that it is not concerned with describing a 'continuum of practice'. Rather, the work explores the use of differing terms themselves; in a sense it is interested in understanding the discussion around the

choice of words, which would need to be agreed before you could put Frost's model into place.

2.4 The Importance of Terminology

Understanding the use of different terms is important because language shapes the way individuals work together. The following discussion explores why the use of terminology is important in multi-agency working.

...the workplace is changing...the word 'inter-professional' ... no longer has much meaning...all these words [multidisciplinary, inter-disciplinary, cross-professional] have come to mean something and nothing to everybody and they're thrown about...

(Wilson and Pirrie, 2000)

When we refer to 'joined up' working, partnerships, collaboration, multi-agency working, interagency working etc. we make an assumption that disparate groups of professional and non professionals '*will do more than just perform their own discrete professional activities in a shared work space*' (Wilson and Pirrie 2006:1), the assumption is that they will work together to deliver a coordinated, integrated service. However there are a plethora of terms used to describe different ways of 'joined up working'. Each of these terms can be interpreted in a slightly different manner leading to the possibility of confusion and misunderstanding of meanings. In bringing a range of differing professionals together to work in a multi-agency setting, the use of differing terminology might have an impact on the development of the team and the outcomes the team delivers. However, the terms multi-agency, inter-agency, multi-professional, inter-professional, partnership working, and collaborative working are often seen to be used interchangeably within policy documents (Soan, 2006). Language is important argues Tisdall (2004) in shaping the way professionals work together and there is often a subtle but important difference in the words used.

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (2003) defines 'multi' as '*many; much; multiple; more than one*' and 'inter' as '*between; among; mutual; mutually*'. The Oxford Compact Dictionary (1996) defines 'multi' as '*many; more than one*'. Easen et al. (2000) refers to certain terminology as having a 'conceptual

elusiveness', with some authors using the terms synonymously, while others differentiating the terminology. Soan (2006) points out that in the government document Every Child Matters: Change for Children (DfES, 2004) the terms 'multi-agency', 'multi-disciplinary', 'integrated services' and 'inter-agency' are all used within just three pages. Leathard (1994) and Lloyd et al. (2001) refer to this interchangeable use of words as a 'terminology quagmire' when terms are used interchangeably often without a clear distinction or clarification of meaning.

There are a number of differing perspectives on the use of differing terminology to describe 'joined up' working. Soan (2006) refers to a process perspective, Lloyd et al. (2001) and Pettit (2003) refer to an organisational perspective and Wilson and Pirrie (2000) refer to a dimensional perspective. Each of these brings challenges to the concept of 'joined up' working.

Soan (2006) argues that the terms multi-agency, inter-agency, multi-disciplinary and integrated services are process related and make reference to an end result, even if the end result isn't always clearly defined. For children and young people with additional needs, within the document Every Child Matters: Change for Children reference is made to:

- High quality *multi-agency* assessment
- A wide range of specialist services available close to home
- Effective case management by a lead professional working as part of a *multi-disciplinary* team (DfES, 2004:15)

Soan (2006) highlights some of the problems inherent in the use of such language. First, the use of terms such as multi-disciplinary could be construed as patronising to the children, young people and their families. She argues that this is a deficit model of intervention used by statutory authorities to exclude those who the intervention is intended for, unless as argued by Tett (2005) the term 'agency' is also used to include parents, families and children. Second, Soan (2006) argues that there is a danger of professionals being so process driven, so intent on delivering 'joined up' working that the reason for the work is undermined. As Riddell and Tett, (2001:2) state, '*the welfare state must be shaped by the changing nature of people's lives, rather than people's lives being changed to fit in with the changing nature of the welfare state*'. At times we can become so caught up in the

process that we forget the end result we are striving for. As Tett argues '*the delivery of public services should meet the needs of the citizens and not the convenience of public service providers*' (Tett, 2005:158).

Finally Soan (2006) argues that different language can mean different things to different people depending on their perspective. This lack of clarity on what is meant can lead to an uncertainty of provision and a diminishing of impact on the very people the provision is meant to support. Therefore depending on the terminology used, multi-agency teams could inadvertently be incorporating an approach to working based on a 'deficit' model, with the client an unequal partner in the relationship. They could be so intent on working together in a 'joined up' way that the needs of the individuals actually comes second to the workings of the team. Finally, due to deferring understandings of the language/terminology used around 'joined up' working, the team might be unsure of exactly what they are meant to do.

If as Soan (2006) argues there is an inherent deficit model of working resulting in an unequal partnership, is different terminology more likely to highlight the different values and ideologies between partners? The use of different terminology can lead to misunderstanding and conflict between partners with conflicting views about user's interests and roles. In the case of different professionals working within schools conflict can arise between services, with education initially assuming that their values and ideologies are the right ones, with the intention of bringing everyone else to share their views. This can present tensions with differing attitudes to children's behaviour and different views on how to address issues; therapeutic workers may feel the need to understand the behaviour, where schools might feel the need to control it. '*I can just talk with a child and make suggestions about his anger, but then another professional, a teacher, can actually ruin all that work with just a look*' (Pettit, 2003:2).

This can present issues with the other services, as they did not feel that their values and ideologies were 'wrong'. Tensions can also occur when agencies are seen to stray into the 'core' roles of other professions. However opportunities to meet and discuss values and ideologies helped to develop a broader understanding of the perspectives of each agency member over time.

Pettit (2003) and Lloyd et al. (2001) refer to an organisational perspective; albeit each in a slightly different manner, to describe the use of different terminology. Pettit (2003) argues that the term 'inter-agency' hints at a blurring of professional boundaries while Lloyd et al. (2001) defines 'inter-agency' work as involving more than one agency working together in a planned and formal way at either a strategic or operational level. This is in contrast to the work of Malin and Morrow (2007) who define inter-disciplinary work as where professionals work together; where they share information where they plan and develop a programme together, however the implementation of the programme is undertaken by individual professionals.

Pettit (2003) argues that 'multi-agency' work suggests both an alignment of organizational boundaries and an acknowledgment that at times a range of professional skills is required to meet the needs of young people. Lloyd et al. (2001) defines multi-agency working as more than one agency working together but not necessarily jointly. This is in line with the work of Malin and Morrow who define 'multi-disciplinary' working as interaction between professionals who work in a 'joined up' way; where professionals might be based alongside each other but they are working separately from one another. Rawson (1994) argues that the term 'inter' denotes a relationship both between and around the elements and implies some notion of reciprocation within the team.

Understandably a range of different professionals working together, some of who use the term 'inter-agency' some of who use the term 'multi-agency', could develop very different expectations of how their individual roles and responsibilities would develop from the terms used. They could also feel that their autonomy and control was threatened. In using the term 'inter-agency' implications might include changes in roles and responsibilities over time with individuals being expected to take on different roles and responsibilities outside of professional guidelines. Whereas the term 'multi-agency' implies the maintaining of separate roles and responsibilities, with the subtle differences attributed to the use of the terms 'inter' and 'multi', agencies could have mixed views on roles and responsibilities, hindering the outcomes of the provision provided.

Wilson and Pirrie (2000) suggest a dimensional perspective to the differences; that is a numerical, territorial and epistemological approach. They argue that for some the difference between 'inter-agency' and 'multi-agency' is merely numerical. That is, the term 'inter' refers to two agencies whereas 'multi' refers to more than two agencies. Malin and Morrow (2007) in their work also define 'multi' in multi-disciplinary in terms of the number of professionals working together. In order to illustrate this from a numerical perspective Carpenter (1995) argues that the working relationship between a teacher and a nursery nurse would engage in 'inter-agency' or interdisciplinary but the working relationship between a teacher, nursery nurse, classroom assistant and parent volunteer would be involved in 'multi-agency' or multi-disciplinary work. Clark (1993) reinforces this point saying that the use of 'multi' does not necessarily imply interaction or collaboration between professionals merely the number of agencies involved. You could have a number of professionals co-located together who rarely discuss issues pertaining to the families they work with; this would not be working in collaboration with one another. There also needs to be clarity on the use of the term 'agency' and 'disciplinary'. Someone working in education might feel that the teacher, nursery nurse and education welfare officer are in fact all part of the same agency or discipline, whereas someone who sits outside of education might feel that each one of these titles is reflective of a different agency or discipline.

For some, Wilson and Pirrie (2000) argue it is an issue of territory or boundaries. Pirrie et al. (1998) describe inter-disciplinary working as crossing the boundaries into another's territory, into their professional space. Bailey (1997) argues that all professionals agreed to some extent, consciously or unconsciously, a consensus of fundamental values, which although expressed and reinforced are not often debated or openly discussed and agreed. Therefore it is difficult if you are a professional from a service that sits outside the main professional grouping, unsure of the values which are being upheld. As long as there are clearly defined roles and responsibilities e.g. 'territories' differences can be discussed in context, however it becomes more difficult if the boundaries are blurred. There needs to be an understanding of the issues and procedures put into place to address the issue of boundaries. Simply placing different professionals together to work on an inter-professional basis will not bring about a change in working practices or a shared understanding of aims and objectives, in fact research has shown that often

'hostile stereotyping' can occur (Pirrie et al., 1998). Research showed that when training nurses shared lectures with medical students, rather than develop a multi-disciplinary approach to the issues at hand, the students sat in segregated groups and expressed concerns about the lack of opportunities to explore and consolidate their own professional identities (Wilson and Pirrie, 2000).

Finally there is the epistemological perspective, argue Wilson and Pirrie (2000), which is a new way of working which blurs the boundaries of professions, creating a willingness to trust, tolerate and share responsibility within the team (Nolan, 1995). Malin and Morrow (2007) define something similar in their 'trans-disciplinary' work, where information and skills are transferred across professionals enabling others to take on board a new skill set which allows them to undertake specific pieces of work, previously only undertaken by one profession. As research by Pirrie and Wilson (2000: 6) points out with 'joined up' working you *'get something that is more than the sum of its parts, you get something different, a meta-perspective'*. This is this new way of working, which is the ideal of New Labour's vision for 'joined up' working.

2.5 'Joined-up' Working in Practice

Following the discussion on models of multi-agency working and the use of differing terminology and the impact this might have on working within a multi-agency team, Tett et al. (2003) have also suggested that the way in which partnerships were constructed and the way in which individuals engaged with those partnerships could impact on the experiences of the partnerships and the issues raised in working across services.

Tett et al. (2003) identified three ways in which partnerships could occur. First, partnership working can be imposed upon services through policy and funding requirements and directed at predetermined 'problems'. These problems are defined and driven not by individuals or communities but by policy makers; an example of this would be the DfES Behaviour and Education Support Teams (BEST), developed through DfES funded Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP). The focus of the programme was to reduce exclusions, truancy and disaffection of children and young people in primary and secondary schools, with a

menu of strategies to choose from (Hallam, 2005). Another example would be the Including Primary School Children (IPSC) Partnership, a multi-agency project set up to work across a number of primary schools, within a Health Action Zone. Milbourne et al. (2003) writing about the project suggested that the makeup of the team workers was drawn more from existing relationships with service managers and the framing of criteria for the bids as opposed to any analysis of local need. The 'policy into practice' journey undertaken in the construction of multi-agency teams will have impacted on the experience of those involved and the issues that arise from the formation of multi-agency teams.

Second, partnership working can be superimposed onto already existing structures or organisations, with existing members having little or no control over what is being done to them. An example of this would be in the development to a BEST in one local authority where most secondary schools already had a Social Exclusion Team, funding was used to enhance existing provision' ... *in some of the schools....it was seen as an extension of the Social Exclusion Team*' (Hallam, 2005:78).

Finally Tett et al. (2003) argue partnerships can be developed as genuine forms of cooperation and mutual engagement, developed from a 'bottom up' approach and truly reflective of the needs of the community. This is reflected in Bagley et al. (2004) review of one Sure Start Programme in which the partnership was grounded within the local community. Bagley et al. (2004) argue for a number of factors leading to the success of the partnership including; the partnership was formed on cooperation and mutual engagement, there was a needs analysis of individual and/or community needs, targets and outcomes were driven by the needs analysis and the multi-agency team providing services to support the previously identified needs.

Building on models of 'joined up' working, Tett et al. (2003) have identified a number of 'core' reasons for agencies to engage in partnership working. From an analysis of literature Tett et al. (2003) have identified five main reasons for collaboration and partnership working;

1. to avoid individualism and working in isolation from others, which at times

can lead to partners working with conflicting aims and objectives, duplicating work or missing out work that has objectives common to a number of partners

2. to add value to each other's work, with partners able to achieve more with less input e.g. the use of a common referral form, the sharing of resources to provide opportunities for both adults and children e.g. the use of classrooms and school resources to provide a mother and toddler group for the community.
3. to broaden the scale and scope of intervention e.g. the use of home-school-community partnerships to encourage parents to be more involved in their children's education and the use of youth services to support vulnerable children at the end of the school day.
4. to tackle complex social issues e.g. reintegration of excluded pupils with support from specialist services, providing support for disabled children over the summer holidays and
5. collaboration is seen as virtuous as opposed to working in isolation from others which at times can appear selfish, services are encouraged to collaborate through financial and other initiatives

Milbourne (2002) has highlighted a further reason to encourage partnership working; that is the opportunity that partnership work provides for its members to adopt norms and values of other partners, which they originally may regard with mistrust.

Research undertaken by Hallem et al. (2005) into phases 1 and 2 of the Behaviour Improvement Programme showed that multi-agency Behaviour and Education Support Teams enabled services, which were not readily available within educational settings, to be more easily accessed by pupils and their families. Webb and Vulliamy (2001) evaluation of a three year project to address the needs of disaffected young people, showed that after a period of time there was an increase in respect for each other's work between teachers and support workers,

derived from working alongside one another. The research by Hallam et al. (2005) also showed that access to a range of services simultaneously allowed for the more complex issues to be addressed e.g. support from the police, educational welfare officer (EWO), pupil support worker and the youth worker, which allowed the young person to continue to access education.

2.5.1 Factors that Impact on the Development of Multi-agency Working

Tett et al. (2001) have identified a number of factors that impact on and barriers to, effective partnership working between services. First, organisations need to share or have complementary purposes. Ball, (1997) argues that this is often difficult when services exist under conflicting and contradictory policies and structures and where at best there is confusion and at worst policies inhibit or adversely affect one another. Second, individuals and services need to be clear about the tasks they are undertaking. This can be difficult when each partner agency has different professional language to discuss targets, expectations and outcomes and at times these targets, expectations and outcomes are implicit to the working of the service.

Third, multi-agency teams need to have time to build up trust in each other, at an operational and at a strategic level. This can prove to be challenging when partnerships are often under pressure to meet predetermined outcomes and targets, within short time frames, with a continuation of funding contingent on meeting agreed targets. Cameron and Lart (2003) argue that valuing and respecting different professionals is often linked to having a clear understanding of their roles and responsibilities and time is needed to build up an understanding of these different roles and responsibilities.

Fourth partnerships need to operate under similar or complementary conditions especially in relation to the resources of time, money and staffing. This can prove difficult when there are different policies driving partner agencies, with differing time frames, funding streams, staffing commitments and pay structures. Eason et al. (2000) argue that multi-agency working is more successful if the work is 'bounded' that is set within a clear time frame with clearly identified aims and objectives, difficult to achieve when you are dealing with a range of different service needs.

In the evaluation of a Sure Start project Bagley et al. (2004) presented an example of a success partnership. There were no major contradictions between the vision and the actual working of the project in spite of team members coming from a range of disciplines. Unlike other partnerships (Milbourne et al., 2003) there appeared to be no interpersonal tensions with feelings of mutual respect afforded to the views of others regardless of their professional qualifications, experiences or background. There was also a feeling that the team shared a common adventure. Staff reported that working together across professions was providing members with new forms of professional knowledge and ways of working. The development of shared files and databases, joint training, regular team meetings and co-locating the team in a single place added to the feelings of a shared challenge. The result was the development of trust, norms and networks and the breaking down of traditional roles and responsibilities replaced with a 'team' identity and the willingness to create new working practices (Bagley et al., 2004).

Webb and Vulliamy (2001) on the other hand highlight research into a three year project which put support workers into schools to address issues of disaffection in young people. Although aspects of the project were highly successful, work with external agencies was often constrained and fragmented. Their research found that local authority services dealing with permanently excluded pupils were becoming more and more 'disconnected' from schools. The result were systems (schools and local authority) which seemed to clash with one another, creating a time consuming, frustrating and often circuitous route to addressing needs.

In their research Cameron and Lart (2003) also classified factors that promoted or hindered 'joined up' working into three broad themes. As with Tett et al. (2001) and Ball (1997) Carmeron and Lart (2003) argue that the aims and objectives of the organisation are extremely important to the success of the partnership. Partnerships based on realistic aims and objectives that are achievable are more likely to be successful than those that are unrealistic. They also argue that this makes it easier to identify and prevent overlaps in work as well as any gaps in provision that might occur. However they include other factors such as organisational differences, roles and responsibilities, levels of strategic support and commitment, communication/IT systems, co-location of teams, personalities, the strength of the management systems and levels of appropriate professional

support, resources and personal and past histories of joint working, all of which can promote or hinder 'joined up' working. Cameron and Lart (2003) argue that if partnerships have strategic commitment and support they are more likely to be successful, in spite of this commitment however organisational differences often make it difficult to synchronise processes. Citing the NHS and local government planning they argue that these processes in themselves may make it difficult to agree actions at a strategic level.

Once multi-agency working has been established there are a number of identified barriers to successful working. (Tett et al., 2001; Geddes, 1997; Pearce and Hillman, 1998; Cameron and Lart, 2003) There is the failure to share professional knowledge with colleagues and the concern individuals and groups have towards their loss of autonomy and control when working with other services. There is the concern of having to share the credit for success with other services as well as the issue of fragmentation and non-coterminosity of boundaries. The latter can lead to the misunderstanding of roles and responsibilities at an operational and a strategic level. The differing funding streams and differing systems between organisations, differing ideologies and values, differing aims and objectives as well as the differing organisational cultures and procedures, can all lead to misunderstanding and conflict between partnership members. The political climate can also have an effect on joined up working, having the ability to support or undermine partnerships. Constant re-organisation and the lack of organisational stability can also undermine partnerships; with turbulence at a strategic level weakening senior management support for partnership working argue Cameron and Lart (2003). Cameron and Lart highlight factors such as negative assumptions and stereotypes as having an impact on joint working practices, citing how district nurses lack of confidence in the ability of home care assistants hindered their ability to work well together.

The lack of appropriate accommodation and resources, the lack of organisational flexibilities and conflicting views about user interests and roles as well as communication difficulties can lead to lack of clarity of purpose within the partnership. Time pressures to meet externally imposed targets can hinder the development of collaboration and the building of trust and reciprocity and differences in perceived power. Brown and White (2006) highlight cultural

differences as a barrier to partnership working, citing the work of Cameron and Lart (2003) and Harbin (1996) as examples of professionals being asked to work outside of their cultural norms and traditions. Milbourne et al., (2003) highlight the pressures on performance and outcomes as well as the often, short term funding streams which can lead to the instability of staffing as additional barriers to be addressed while Craig et al., 2004 have identified tensions between professionals as a barrier to successful partnership working.

Research by Milbourne (2005) into the 'Including Primary School Children' (IPSC) partnership highlighted a number of these barriers as factors in evaluating this as a less than successful partnership. First, the short-term nature of the funding allowed insufficient time to address some of the professional and/or agency inflexibilities which arose and had time permitted might have been addressed. From the onset there was an assumption made by partners of shared understandings and clarity of aims and objectives, however these assumptions actually lead to a lack of clarity in the overall focus and finer details of the project.

Second, there was an *ad hoc* method of developing policies and the practicalities of the day-to-day running of the project, which lead to limited potential for collaboration or joint working. Although team members met up and discussed casework and referrals, the delivery of interventions in schools was lead by discrete professional specialisms. Third, the almost revolving management of the partnership resulted in tensions around practical issues such as the physical location of the team and team members' access to equipment. Finally, the interpersonal tensions in the project, including the lack of equal professional status afforded each member as well as the acknowledgement of qualifications, knowledge and expertise of individual members resulted in the marginalization of some of the team members.

These difficulties suggest that if partnerships are intended to work there needs to be an understanding that time will be required to address barriers and issues that arise. The pressure to meet targets insured that the partnership was running before it could walk and provided for fragmentation among the services provided. Although team members acknowledged tensions, they were either 'managed' in meetings or the issues were avoided and thus issues were not addressed

subsequently hindering the development of a truly collaborative partnership (Milbourne et al., 2003). Milbourne et al. (2003) suggest that the team's lack of collaboration mirrored the poor record of agencies' collaboration at a local level. Rather than redress the issue through partnership working the lack of cooperation locally merely intensified it.

Research by Hallam et al. (2005), White and Featherstone (2005) and Milbourne et al. (2003) also identified a number of issues relevant to the success of partnership working within health and education. First was the issue of accommodation for the team. In their research Cameron and Lart (2003) identified co-location as significant as a basis for successful joint working. Having the same space increased the opportunity for communication between individuals from different agencies, which resulted in improved cooperation. Access to different professionals also heightens sensitivity to problems, which could lead to improved mutual understanding and information sharing. In their research White and Featherstone (2005) found that when services were expected to move to an integrated unit, judgements about team loyalty were made in relation to team members' visible reluctance to relocate. In Hallam et al. (2005) research into multi-agency Behaviour and Education Support Teams, the lack of an effective base had a detrimental impact on the work of the team, in some instances delaying the beginning of work, in others it had an impact on the work provided.

Second communication was important. As highlighted by Bagley et al. (2004) as with Sure Start, multi-agency teams who took time to set up effective referral systems, staff meetings, etc. were more successful than those who provide a more ad hoc system. Recruitment was also an issue initially but Hallam et al. (2005) found that this led to multi-agency discussions on how to address these issues which eventually led to more 'joined up' thinking at a strategic level.

According to a number of researchers (Pratt et al., 1998; Wilson and Pirrie, 2000; Riddell and Tett, 2001; Tett et al., 2003) partnership working is at its best when there is joint clarity as to the purpose of the project by all of the members of the partnership. There must also be clarity of purpose with all members agreeing to the purpose and committed to its implementation. There must be shared ownership of the project by all members with clear management roles and

responsibilities and finally the partnership needs to be willing to learn and change. However in achieving 'partnership working at its best' research by Anning et al. (2006) highlighted the issue of professional identity within multi-agency teams arguing that professionals need to feel confident about the professional identity they bring to a multi-agency team in order to feel safe about transforming it.

2.6 Professional Identity

Hudson (2002) identifies professional identity as a barrier to multi agency working, however the research by Anning et al. (2006) found that professionals who *'struggled through the pain of transformation to the gains of a new professional identity reported an enhanced sense of 'who I am'* (Anning et al, 2006:75).

Using Wenger's (1998) work on 'communities of practice' Anning et al. (2006) discussed the importance of professionals developing their professional identity through shared practices and learning, which will be different in a multi-agency setting, from those working within a single agency setting. Wenger argues that identity is *'...a way of talking about how learning changes who we are and creates personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities'* (Wenger 1998:5).

Using Wenger's work on communities of practice, Anning et al. (2006) make the point that within a multi-agency team, professionals will have undergone different historic processes in relation to the formation of their professional identities than that of their colleagues who work in single agency teams.

Anning et al. (2006) also use Engstrom's (1999) activity theory which argues that conflict within teams, which is inevitable, must be articulated and debated openly in order to create new forms of knowledge. He refers to 'expansive learning cycles' (Engstrom, 2001) which occur in multi-agency teams when individuals with different knowledge and skills come together for a common goal. This coming together to work through issues, exploring differences and alternatives, modelling situations and agreeing and implementing activities has an impact on the creation and exchange of knowledge.

In their research Bathmaker and Avis (2005) consider how trainees learn how to be lecturers in further education, how they develop their identities, their expectations and perceptions of their chosen role using the work of Lave and Wenger's (1991) legitimate peripheral participation and Wenger's (1998) 'communities of practice'. The work of Lave and Wenger (1991) is based on a social theory of learning, which explains learning as a 'socially situated activity'. Learning involves social and cultural processes argue Lave and Wenger, which in turn shapes the learning that occurs. As part of this process the concept of 'apprenticeship' is useful in understanding how the learning of newcomers or 'novices' takes place within the community. This learning includes what it is to be part of the community, the language used by community members, how members interact with one and other and with 'outsiders', likes, dislikes etc.. They describe the process that newcomers undergo as 'legitimate peripheral participation'. 'Legitimate' refers to the fact that the newcomers are real and active participants in the community, whereas 'peripheral' refers to the fact that they might have fewer calls on their time, effort and responsibilities than if they were full participants.

The concept of legitimate peripheral participation is important argue Lave and Wenger (1991) because it allows new members of a community access to activities and information which allows them to learn how to become full members of the community. At times during their training Bathmaker and Avis (2005) found that trainees were marginalized, rather than experiencing and benefiting from legitimate peripheral participation, which impacted on their attempts to make sense of their experiences of what teaching in further education should be about.

Bligh (1994) likens professionals to a 'tribe', arguing that as with a tribe there are sanctions for those individuals who fail to conform to the rules and expectations set by the group. He argues that members of the 'tribe' who begin to take on characteristics of other 'tribes' are expelled. Using Bligh's argument, Anning et al. (2006) argue that in asking individuals to work in multi-agency teams we are asking them to set aside long established 'tribal beliefs and behaviours' and work with others, often not recognising the anxiety and vulnerability that this causes individuals. Loxley (1997) points out that multi-agency working is interwoven with conflict because of social differences in the division of labour which has developed over the last 200 years. Anning et al. (2006) found that the perceived status of

professionals both within and outside of the team had an impact on how the team functioned.

Ellis (2000) suggests that members of a single professional environment will not all share the same professional identity much less members of a multi-agency environment. Using Personal Construct Psychology to describe professional identity, his research with nurses showed that as individuals' personalities and ways of coping with work issues are different, so too are the ways of constructing themselves professionally. Ellis (2000) argues that it is possible for individuals to construe their professional role differently from that of their work colleagues. If then individuals cannot construe their colleagues' constructions then problems between individuals' inter-personal relationships can occur argues Ellis (2000). This has implications for members of multi-agency teams, in that if single agency professionals have difficulty in understanding the constructs of individuals working in the same profession, how much more difficult will it be to understand the constructs from someone from a different profession?

2.7 Conclusion

Part of the previous Labour government's policy to address issues of social exclusion, truancy and exclusions was the promotion of partnership working. The reasons behind partnership working might be considered to be laudable, even virtuous; however these reasons are not without costs in themselves.

Hayward and Wright (2000) refer to the search for 'joined up' solutions as the philosopher's stone of modern governments, ever sought but always just out of one's reach. Tett (2007) argues that from a government perspective the benefits of partnership working is 'extolled' but the costs, especially the hidden costs are underestimated. Research by Huxham and Vangen (2000) and Taylor (2003) show hidden costs to include the time spent in meetings and the management and/or being the lead agency with these costs often falling disproportionately onto the voluntary or community sectors. Any success or failure of partnership working in relation to a reduction in social exclusion will take time to measure. Hard outcomes such as a reduction in exclusion figures, an increase in attendance figures, improved health, reduction in teenage pregnancies etc. will all take time to

achieve. However at the present time, partnership working continues to be seen as one way to address the wider issues of social exclusion, and local authorities are increasingly moving towards the further development of multi-agency teams co-located within the local community.

The development of partnership working has not been without issues. In spite of promoting 'joined up' working the government failed to provide a conceptual framework for the development of multi-agency teams. This has led to researchers (Atkinson et al., 2002; Dyson et al., 1998; Audit Commission, 1998; Ovretreit, 1993; Tett, 2007) developing numerous framework models based on the evaluations of existing examples of multi-agency working. Language has also created difficulties. According to research by Hafford-Letchfield and Spatcher, (2007) successful partnerships with schools are based on sharing a common language, so having a common understanding of what we mean by 'joined up' working will support multi-agency working. Tett et al., (2003), argue that there are many different definitions for the term 'collaboration' and further research indicates a vast number differing terminology used to describe 'joined up' working (Soan 2006; Lloyd et al., 2001; Pettit (2003; Wilson and Pirrie, 2000). Research (Tett et al., 2001; Pratt et al., 1998; Wilson and Pirrie, 2000; Riddell and Tett, 2001; Tett et al., 2003) has identified factors which promote and hinder successful partnerships. Research (Bagley et al., 2004; Milbourne, 2005) has provided examples of two partnerships evidencing these factors in action. Dyson and Robson (1999) have argued for the 'hazards' of collaboration the least of which are inter-professional rivalries and unrealistic expectations of agencies working together.

To date much of the focus has been in understanding factors which play a part in the construction of multi-agency teams; conceptual frameworks, language, positive and negative factors. Anning (2002) and latterly Rose (2009) argue that in the development of partnership working little attention has been paid to how various professionals from disparate services share knowledge and gain an understanding of each other's beliefs and ways of working in order to present a shared vision to others. Rose (2009) focused on the resolution of inter-professional dilemmas and how these issues were resolved within multi-agency settings. Research undertaken by Anning et al. (2006) has focused on the processes by which professionals learn to work together within a multi-agency setting and how their

professionals' identities have developed within multi-agency teams. Their research looked at the implications for professional activities and the development of new forms of professional knowledge created through multi-agency working. The work of Lave and Wenger (1991) on 'legitimate peripheral learning' and latterly Wenger's (1998) work on 'communities of practice' have been used to understand the acquisition of learning generally and have been applied to multi-agency settings.

Since 1997 there have been a number of programmes, which promote preventative, inter-agency working in schools, including the Behaviour Improvement Programme, Education Action Zones, Sure Start, Social Regeneration Budgets and Health Action Zones. All of these programmes have been driven by government policy, funding requirements and have focused on predetermined issues to do with social exclusion. They all tend to recognise the interrelationship between different factors leading to social exclusion. In the case of the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) and Education Action Zones the relationships are between educational underachievement and socio-economic deprivation and involve schools (Riddell and Tett, 2001). They are locally based and feature partnership and multi-agency working across a number of agencies including schools, voluntary organisations and community groups.

Using a qualitative methodological approach, the proposed study will attempt to address gaps in the research into individuals working in a multi-agency setting by undertaking a small scale analysis to explore the perceptions and views of those professionals working within the multi-agency team in relation to roles and responsibilities, knowledge and skills, the use of terminology and the co-location of one multi-agency team within a secondary school.

This research will draw heavily on the research undertaken by Anning et al. (2006) highlighting the issues encountered in the development of professional identity in teams when working in a multi-agency setting. The aim of the (proposed) research study is to develop a deeper understanding of the experiences of individual members of a multi-agency team co-located within secondary school and the implications for professional identity. In line with the research undertaken by Anning et al. (2006) this research project focused on the development of one

specific multi-agency team and the perceptions of those individual members of the team rather than in the outcomes generated by the team.

While the methodology chapter will set out the qualitative methodological approach used in undertaking this research, this chapter has attempted to locate this small scale research project in the wider context pertaining to policies and practices into multi-agency working that exist to date. The next chapter will attempt to take a narrower perspective looking at the national and local context surrounding the development of one multi-agency team used in this research.

Chapter 3

Context of Research

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will set out the national and local context surrounding the development of one multi-agency team in order to better understand the context within which the research was undertaken. In the previous chapter, the literature review has attempted to locate this small scale research project in the wider context pertaining to multi-agency working that has existed to date. The literature review has explored the range of work undertaken in previous years into the policies and policy development, frameworks, language and barriers to multi-agency working. In order to understand the context in which the research is located both from a national and local perspective, this chapter will attempt to take a narrower perspective looking at the national and local context, applying some of the research touched upon in the previous chapter in relation to the development of one multi-agency team.

3.2 National Policy

Hallam et al. (2005) highlighted the poor behaviour of children and young people as a major issue among teachers, which lead to difficulties for teaching and learning. Within education there has long been the recognition of the relationship between poor academic attainment and socio-economic deprivation (Power, 2001). However at a national and local level responsibility for dealing with these issues is often fragmented. Bentley and Gurumurthy (1999) cite the example in relation to school exclusions. Without a more sophisticated measure of behaviour, there has been an over reliance on exclusions as a measure of indicating changes in relation to pupil behaviour over time. However as the only quantitative indicator, which records changes in individual pupil behaviour, exclusions are used as a bench mark for many programmes which seek to address issues of poor behaviour in schools. Exclusions are considered to be the final sanction schools have in dealing with poor behaviour. Fixed term exclusions occur for a set number of days and are set by the headteacher in response to breaking of school rules. Permanent exclusions result when the behaviour is so extreme the headteacher

doesn't want the pupil back into the school. The Department for Education and Skills (DfES) has the main responsibility for school exclusions but the Department of Health (DoH) also has an interest, through local social services and Child and Adult Mental Health Services, as does the Home Office in relation to criminal justice. Exclusion from school is linked not only with poor academic attainment but also higher levels of unemployment, homelessness, prison or teenage pregnancy (Graham and Bowling, 1995; Audit Commission, 1996).

Issues of exclusion acknowledged the complexity of factors leading to pupils being excluded from school. It is also acknowledged that a number of factors outside of the educational setting combine together to result in behaviour which is addressed through exclusion (Dryfoos, 1990). Schools acknowledge that exclusion alone will not address these factors. However they often feel they are left with few options other than to exclude, in trying to deal with problems that are often directly or indirectly perceived to be the responsibility of families or other agencies. Even when schools know of other agency involvement support is often fractured, disjointed and at times at cross-purposes (Power, 2001).

New Labour argued for collaboration and partnership to address these issues; which have often manifested themselves in the encouragement of partnership working and the development of multi-agency teams (Tomlinson, 2003). Every Child Matters: Change for Children talks about multi-agency working as;

..... different services, agencies and teams of professionals and other staff working together to provide the services that fully meet the needs of children, young people and their parents or carers. To work successfully on a multi-agency basis you need to be clear about your own role and aware of the roles of other professionals; you need to be clear about your own standards and targets and respectful of those that apply to other services, actively seeking and respecting the knowledge and input others can make to delivering best outcomes for children and young people

(DfES, 2004:18).

Multi-agency working isn't new, but as discussed in the previous chapter the policy emphasis on multi-agency working by the previous Labour government resulted in the development of a range of initiatives and programmes in health, education and

social services aimed at addressing issues of social exclusion. One such initiative was the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP).

The Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) was established in 2002, as part of the then government's Street Crime Initiative (Hallam, 2005) aimed at addressing issues of exclusion and truancy and to improve pupil behaviour and poor school attendance in pupils aged 5-18. Initially local authorities were chosen based on indicators combining truancy and crime figures (Hallam, 2005). Phase 1 of the project was established in July 2002 and phase 2 in April 2003. In phase 1 of the project 34 local authorities were targeted, with over 700 primary and secondary schools involved. In 2003, in phase 2 of the programme, the funding was moved into the Excellence in Cities (EIC) grant, with more local authorities able to bid to become involved in the programme. Local authorities were required to submit a project proposal stating how they would use the funding to address specific issues in designated schools in relation to behaviour and attendance. In phase 2 an additional 26 local authorities were included with a further 99 secondary schools and 446 primary schools (Hallam, 2005). In all there have been four Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) phases, 2002, 2003, 2004 and 2005.

The funding for the programme ran from financial year to financial year, 1.3 million in the first instance with a reduction in subsequent years and readjustment for pupil numbers. In the first instance, the funding continued until March 2006 as Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) funding within the Excellence in Cities grant. The funding was extended in 2006 for a further 2 years. In 2008 the funding was further continued until 2011, although it was no longer ring-fenced or subject to the strict monitoring arrangements or outcomes identified in the original programme. The objectives of the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) were;

- to improve the overall standards of behaviour within targeted schools
- to reduce unauthorized absences
- to reduce exclusions
- to provide a key worker for identified 'at risk' pupils
- to provide full time education for all excluded pupils, known as Day 1 Provision.

(Hallam, 2005:5)

Each local authority received funding (1.3 million in the first year) to support up to four secondary schools (chosen on a range of indicators usually, exclusions, attendance, free school meals and attainment at key Stage 3 and GCSE) and their linked primary schools. Local authorities could decide how much of this funding they would devolve to schools (if any) and how much they would hold centrally to support the initiative. These groupings of schools were defined as 'clusters'. Each local authority had agreed targets in reducing exclusions and improving attendance that they passed on to each cluster. Although the objectives of the programme were predefined as part of the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) grant specifications, local authorities and their schools were allowed to 'select' from a menu of suggested strategies and or develop strategies of their own to meet the programme objectives. The strategies suggested by the government at the time were;

- The development of whole school approaches to promote good behaviour, which were informed by the behaviour audit, which was a key component of the Behaviour and Attendance strand, which was launched in 2003, of the National Strategies
- Early support for pupils at risk of developing behaviour problems
- The co-ordinating support of a key worker who could provide for or broker support as and when needed
- High quality Learning Support Units (LSUs) which had been a key component of the Excellence in Cities programme
- Innovative approaches to teaching and learning in schools, which was supported by the Behaviour and Attendance strand of the National Strategies
- Truancy measures; including measures to identify pupils who were not attending school
- Full Service Extended Schools, which had previously been piloted in a few local authorities
- Police in schools known as a Safer Schools Partnerships (SSP)
- Behaviour and Education Support Teams (BEST)-drawing together the full range of support for vulnerable families

(Hallam, 2005:5)

The last of these strategies was the development of multi-agency teams known as Behaviour and Education Support Teams (BEST) to provide multi-agency support in line with the government themes of partnership and collaboration. BEST were developed as multi-agency teams who worked with children and young people between the ages of 5-18. The key to the success of BEST was

their ability to bring together the skills, perspectives and experience of a range of practitioners to create an effective and motivated multi-disciplinary team which can offer earlier and more individualized support to children and their families

(Good Practice Guidance for BEST, 2003:5)

In order to support the development and implementation of BEST, Good Practice Guidance was provided drawing on the work of Atkinson et al. (2002) and their detailed study of multi-agency working. Atkinson et al. (2002) developed a framework for multi-agency working; which used as its basis the purpose of multi-agency working. As discussed in the literature review Atkinson et al. (2005) argue that in this framework the most frequent types of groups were those engaged in decision-making and coordinated delivery. Hallam et al. (2005) provide four examples of Behaviour and Education Support Teams (BEST) which provided a coordinated team delivery, to support a shared agenda with secondary and primary schools.

BEST drew together the full range of specialist support for vulnerable children, young people and their families (Hallam, 2005). Research undertaken in 2005 by Halsey et al. into the work of BEST found that membership of BEST included a range of professionals; educational psychologist, education social worker, educational welfare officer, learning support teacher, counsellor, social worker, family support workers, youth worker, Child and Mental Health (CAMH) worker, clinical psychologist, speech therapist, play therapist, police etc.. Although BEST ranged in membership from 5-31 individuals, on average BEST teams had 12 or fewer members. Most teams had a range of professionals including; educational welfare officers, social workers, youth workers, and the police. However some teams had a stronger slant towards a particular sector. In some teams there were learning mentors, educational welfare officers, and educational psychologists e.g. more educational staff. In other teams there were play therapists, counsellors and

CAMHs workers or more health staff. However within each of these teams individuals remained very specific to their individual areas or specialisms. In a few BEST however, staff took on more generic roles as 'BEST' workers; losing their individual specialisms in favour of a 'generic' role (Halsey et al., 2005).

The purpose of BEST was clearly set out in the guidance documentation

The purpose of BEST is to promote the emotional health and well-being, positive mental health, positive behaviour and school attendance among children and young people and help in the identification and support of those with, or at risk of developing emotional and behavioural problems through the provision of multi-agency support in targeted schools and to individual families.

(Good Practice Guidance for BEST, 2005:7)

Each local authority however was able to develop BEST in line with their specific local context and needs.

3.3 Local Context

This research takes place within a local authority situated in the Northeast of England. It is a relatively small local authority covering approximately 55 square miles consisting of a mixture of urban and rural areas. In 2006 there were around 45,600 young people between the ages of 0-19 residing within the local authority. With a total population of approximately 190,000 at the time, this meant that about 25% of the population was made up of children and young people which equates to the national average (C&YPP, 2006). According to the 2001 census 2.4% of children and young people were part of an ethnic minority group and there were 216 children and young people who were asylum seekers which was slightly more than 20% of the total of asylum seekers residing in the local authority. Over 90% of children and young people lived in a house or bungalow, of which 12% were living in overcrowded accommodation. Youth crime had fallen year on year. The NEET figure, those Not in Education, Employment or Training was 8%. GCSE results were in the top ten best in the country and the percentage of young people age 16 leaving school with no qualifications had continued to reduce year on year (C&YPP, 2006). In spite of this local profile, which didn't comply with national indicators of high exclusions and poor school attendance, the local authority in

2003 successfully submitted a bid to be part of phase 2 of the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP).

Following the securing of funds, a programme co-ordinator was appointed and took up post in September 2003. Decisions as to which schools would be part of the programme were made during the summer term 2003. Although as stated previously the local authority did not comply with national indicators of high exclusions and poor attendance, they decided to use as indicators the number of fixed and permanent exclusions, level of attendance and absences, Free School Meals and attainment at key Stage 3 and GCSE results to identify the four secondary schools to be part of the programme. Once the four secondary schools (given the initials A, B, C, D in this study) were chosen, their linked or feeder primary schools which had high levels of exclusions, attendance below the national average, high level of Free School Meals and low Key Stage 2 results were included in the programme.

School A was a mixed 11-16 community secondary school in the east of the borough with 798 pupils on roll (Ofsted, 2008). There were 10 primary schools linked to this school, comprising cluster A. School B was a mixed 11-16 community secondary school in the middle of the borough with 781 pupils on role (Ofsted, 2006). There were 8 primary schools linked to this school, comprising cluster B. School C was catholic mixed 11-18 secondary school in the east of the borough with 910 pupils on role (Ofsted, 2006). There were 8 primary catholic schools linked to this cluster, comprising cluster C. The final school D was in the west of the borough, a mixed 11-18 secondary school with 574 pupils on role. (Ofsted, 2008). There were 6 primary schools linked to this school, comprising cluster D.

Pettit (2003) refers to a topology of partnership working with schools, a topology that looks at the levels of ownership and responsibility that schools retain over schemes designed to address the issues confronting them. They fall into three categories;

1. those schemes that export the problems off-site; in effect working in partnership if you take ownership and responsibility for those pupils we

don't want

2. those that import skills into the school to address the issues but devolve the authority to another agency or group
3. those that allow the school to retain ownership of the problem, importing personnel and skills and embedding them into school life (Pettit, 2003).

At the time the local authority entered the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) the model of partnership working within schools was a model that exported problems off-site, referring difficult children and young people for 'expert' help, which was delivered elsewhere, or referring children and young people into containment schemes such as nurture groups, Pupil Referral Units (PRU)s or special schools. Into this model of partnership working, came the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP), with an expectation of partnership and collaboration at a strategic and operational level. In advocating collaboration and partnership working then, the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) encouraged schools to work in partnership with professionals in new ways; importing skills into the school and embedding them into the school life.

Bagley et al., (2004) suggest that the way in which partnerships are formed will impact on how well they meet their outcomes. At the onset of the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) in the local authority, a steering group was established made up of local authority officers and senior school staff. The steering group made decisions regarding the use of the funding allocated to support the initial 3-year project. Of the funding allocated to the local authority 87% was devolved across the four clusters on an equal basis and 13% was retained for programme coordination and small discrete pieces of work e.g. support for electronic registration in non-BIP schools. Funding was allocated to the clusters as follows:

- £20,000 to support co-ordination of cluster work, undertaken by lead behaviour professionals (deputy or assistant headteacher of the secondary school)
- £62,500 to support the provision for fixed term excluded pupils from the first day of exclusion (known as Day 1 provision)

- £93,000 for the Full Service Extended School (which was one of the four BIP secondary schools)
- £160,000 for the development of Behaviour and Education Support Teams (BEST)

Funding for BEST was devolved to each of the four clusters with the secondary schools the fund holders for the clusters. Due to issues in the employment of staff across agencies, there was a substantial under spend in the first year. The under spend was divided among the primary schools and the secondary school in each cluster.

Each cluster established a smaller cluster steering group to monitor and oversee the use of the funding. Membership of these smaller steering groups was made up of the primary headteachers in each cluster, the secondary headteacher, the lead behaviour professional and the BEST co-ordinator.

As inferred through content analysis and documentation relating to the steering group meetings analysed at the onset of the research, other agencies were invited to join the central steering group only after strategic decisions were made on the allocation of the funding set out above. Evidence suggests that as part of the accountability measures, the steering group was required to include more multi-agency involvement (Appendix1-Minutes and Steering Group Actions). The decision not to include other agencies doesn't appear to be a decision based on wanting to exclude other agencies, rather a lack of understanding of the potential for partnership working. In comparison, other local authorities for example allocated funding to support Safer School Partnerships and worked closely with the police (Hallam et al., 2004). From the onset of the programme there have been differing views as to the meaning 'multi-agency' working. To some 'multi-agency' working meant the use of learning mentors in schools, as learning mentors are not teachers, some schools felt that the use of learning mentors was working in a 'multi-agency' manner. Tett et al. (2001) have shown in their research the need for a common understanding of terminology within the partnership to afford a chance of success. The initial makeup of the steering group lead to specific decisions being made based upon an implicit understanding or definition of 'multi-agency' working by schools which was not necessarily replicated by other services.

The steering group was made up of representatives from secondary schools; head teachers, lead behaviour professionals and the local authority; BIP coordinator, principle educational welfare officer, principle educational psychologist, Head of Behaviour Support, senior secondary Inspector, Inspector for Special Educational Needs/Inclusion and Head of Inclusive Services. The steering group decided to allocate funding for the release of a senior member of secondary school staff (deputy or assistant headteacher) to oversee the various aspects associated with the Behaviour Improvement Programme in each of the four clusters. This responsibility included overseeing the use of the funding devolved to schools, management of the multi-agency Behaviour and Education Support Teams, management of Day 1 Provision, co-ordination of the work in primary schools, data collection etc.. These individuals were known as lead behaviour professionals (LBP). The steering group also agreed to devolve a substantial amount of the funding to support BEST, approximately 69% of the funding in the first year. However they decided against funding a central multi-agency team in favour of four teams, one located in each of the four clusters.

As previously discussed in the literature review Cameron and Lart (2003) identified co-location as significant as a basis for successful joint working. The decision to create four teams co-located within the secondary school to support clusters meant that BEST would have direct and easy access to teaching staff in secondary schools and ease of access into primary schools by virtue of their links with the secondary school, hence increasing the opportunity for communication between individuals and improved cooperation. Access to different professionals can also heighten sensitivity to problems. However access can also lead to improved mutual understanding and information sharing between professionals. Significantly however in relation to this study previous research hasn't looked at the impact co-location has had in relation to schools which have had multi-agency teams located within them and the impact this has had on school staff's views of multi-agency working.

The membership of each BEST was left up to individual clusters to decide, based on their needs. The secondary schools were responsible for the recruitment and employment of BEST members. In the first round of appointments when the programme started, clusters looked at the gap in service provision and looked to

appoint into the teams accordingly. This was undertaken in different ways. In some instances staff were seconded from their substantive posts in health, working directly to the BEST Coordinator for day to day line management e.g. school nurse, mental health workers. In this instance health remained responsible for managing redundancy issues. In other instances staff were employed directly by the secondary schools; such as youth workers, support assistants, young people and family support workers. Each team comprised of a coordinator and a number of team members belonging to a range of professions including health, social services, mental health, educational welfare.

School A interviewed for the post of BEST co-ordinator from educational staff working within the cluster. They appointed an individual who had a background of working in social care and with young people in a youth work/educational setting. They interviewed for a counsellor, social worker, youth worker and educational welfare officer, although they did not include local authority staff in the recruitment process.

Schools B and D employed BEST co-ordinators from staff already working within their clusters. One had a back ground of working in educational welfare (School B) and one was a qualified teacher (School D) who had never taught but worked in schools as a learning mentor. These two clusters chose to 'share' staff in the first years of the project including a social worker and a mental health worker. They each employed a school nurse (in addition to the school nurse employed by health to work in schools) and several support assistants.

School C looked internally at staff within their secondary school and appointed a co-ordinator from within, who had a teaching background. Originally they wanted to appoint the counsellor as the BEST co-ordinator but the counsellor decided against taking up the position, saying it would take them away from their work with young people. The part time counsellor was paid for from the dioceses and worked with the team. They also seconded an educational welfare officer onto their team from the local authority educational welfare service. They employed a learning mentor and administration assistant to work into the team as well.

Each team was line managed on a day to day basis by the BEST co-ordinator. Social workers, school nurses and mental health workers were employed by their professional organisations but worked into the teams; the school nurse and mental health workers were employed by the PCT and the social workers by community based services. They received professional supervision from their professional services. BEST co-ordinators were line managed by the lead behaviour professional and employed by the secondary school on behalf of the cluster. The lead behaviour professionals were employed directly by the secondary school.

The Behaviour Improvement Programme Co-ordinator was employed to oversee the management of all aspects of the programme on behalf of the steering group. Initially she was line managed by the Inspector for Special Educational Needs/Inclusion; latterly she was line managed by the Inspector who had oversight of the Excellence in Cities programme. She also reported to the steering group and to an account manager from PriceWaterHouseCooper working on behalf of the DCSF, on a termly basis. This researcher took up post as the BIP Co-ordinator in September 2003. As programme co-ordinator she had responsibility for overall co-ordination of the four BEST and the development of the four lead behaviour professionals, carrying out individual ½ term 'supervision' sessions with each of the four BEST co-ordinators and the four lead behaviour professionals. She was also responsible for the establishment of networks with the BEST co-ordinators and lead behaviour professionals to support the multi-agency working agenda. Part of her role was also to ensure accountability in the use of funding and meeting targets, monitoring how well the clusters met agreed targets. On occasion she was involved in staff appointments within some, but not all, of the clusters. With respect to the team involved in this research the author was not involved in any of the appointment of staff.

The diagram below provides an overview of the four BEST in relation to line management of staff, supervision and professional support and programme coordination and professional support. It attempts to show the relationships between the BIP steering group and the BIP co-ordinator; the BIP co-ordinator and the LBPs and BEST co-ordinators and the LBP, BEST co-ordinators and individual teams.

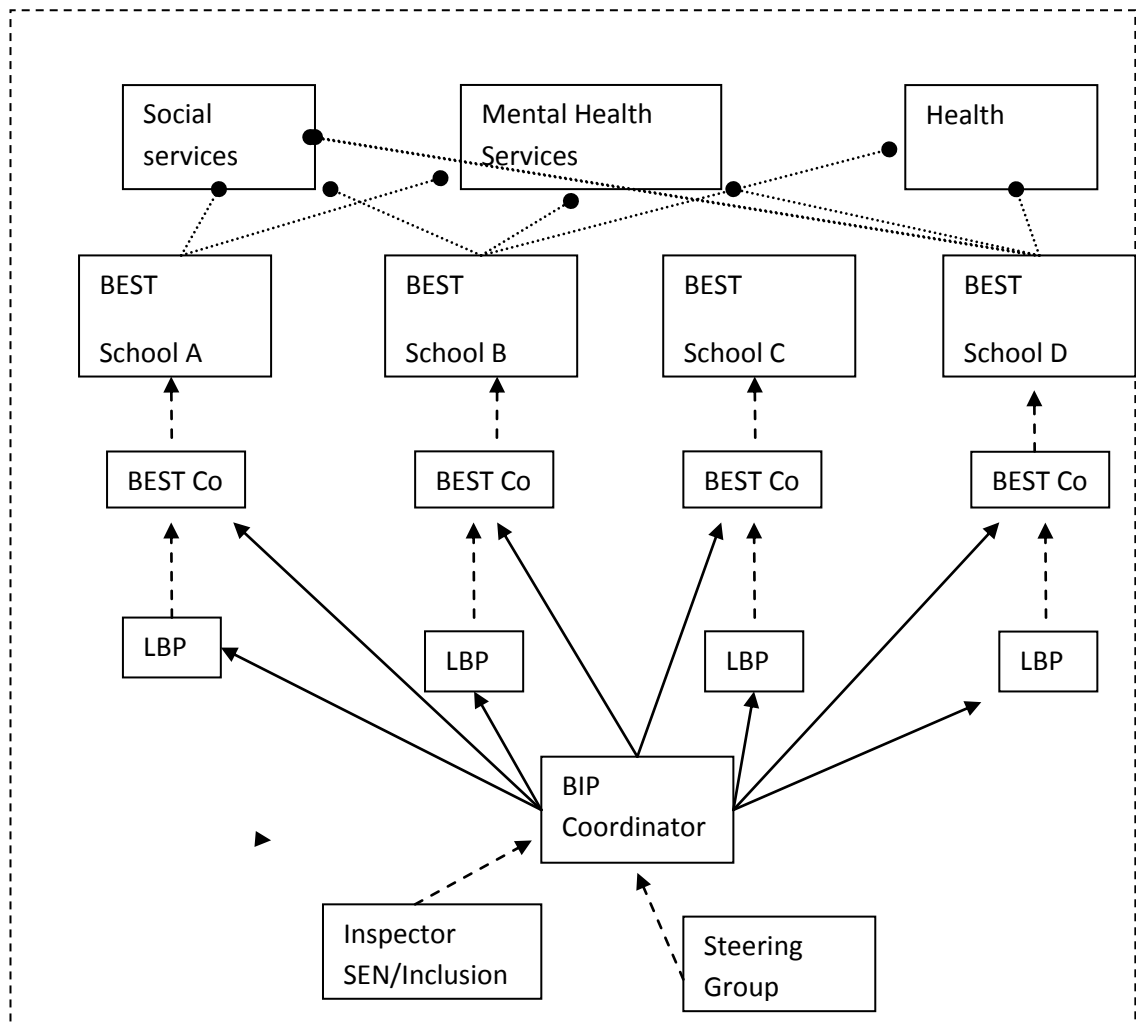


Diagram 3.1 Management Structure of BEST Across the Local Authority

Coordination/professional support for multi-agency working —————>

Line Management - - - - ->

Supervision / professional support>

Although all four teams came together roughly at the same time, with the coordinators taking up post with six months of one another, over the 4 years of their existence membership of the teams fluctuated greatly with staff coming and going, the majority of which were staff appointed from health including mental health and community based services. The BEST co-ordinators and the lead behaviour professionals remained stable over this period.

Although BEST co-ordinators and lead behaviour professionals remained stable, schools themselves underwent a series of changes including new headteachers and promotion of staff. The review of secondary school places within the local

authority placed considerable strain on all of the secondary schools. There was also a great deal of uncertainty as to the continuation of the funding to support the four multi-agency BEST. At the time this research took place, each cluster was in the process of considering 1) if/how they could continue with the work of the teams and 2) if they couldn't continue with the teams what would they do with the staff in those teams. BEST staff and school staff were aware of the funding issues and the potential implications.

In deciding which BEST to involve in this research consideration needed to be paid to changes undergone within the secondary schools and the tensions within the local authority. The choice of BEST needed to reflect a level of team stability. The makeup of BEST also needed to reflect a range of disciplines.

The secondary school which was chosen to be part of the research was done so because they had been less influenced by changes to staff over the period of the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP), leading to more stability of the senior management which in turn meant that any intrusion by the researcher would have less of an impact. They were also less involved in the secondary school review, which meant that they would be less likely to second guess at the meaning behind the research. It also appeared that the school chosen would keep BEST intact for the period of data gathering. Finally the researcher had a good working relationship with both the lead behaviour professional and the BEST co-ordinator. A further discussion of the researcher's relationships with the school and BEST are undertaken in the methodology chapter.

3.4 The Research School and BEST Context

The school involved in this research is School D, a relatively small mixed 11-18 secondary school in the rural part of the borough. The secondary school was linked with six primary schools that sent some children to this secondary school and other children to another two secondary schools also within the area. Neither of these other two secondary schools were part of the programme because they didn't meet the initial criteria of high exclusions, poor attendance, free school meals and GCSE results.

At the beginning of 2004 the cluster steering group decided to use the funding for BEST to employ a range of professionals; an attendance officer (the secondary school's 2004 Ofsted report highlighted attendance as an area for concern), a school nurse, a part-time social worker, a mental health worker shared with another cluster and two support assistants (primary) and a support assistant (secondary) as well as a co-ordinator to oversee the team. Over the next two years the staff within the team changed, in part due to the unsecured nature of the funding. Research has identified this lack of secured funding as one of the barriers to success multi-agency working (Tett et al., 2001; Geddes, 1997; Pearce and Hillman, 1998). By the time this research took place the team was made up of several 'new' team members as well as staff who had been there since the beginning of the project. At the time of the research the team included the co-ordinator, the attendance manager, 2 support staff and a young people and family worker and a social work student on placement with the team.

The team was based within the secondary school, in the 'inclusion unit', slightly apart from the main body of the school. Within the unit there were facilities for the school nurse and police, as well as the special needs support base and facilities to support excluded pupils. The team shared a large room with the schools' learning mentors, sectioning off half of the room for a 'team base'. The attendance officer also had access to a room in another part of the school. School staff who were involved in this research had their base in another part of the school near to the assistant, latterly deputy headteachers office, with adjoining room between. The six members of BEST involved in the research had an average age of 34.6 years and had been working for the team for an average of 3 years. The team consisted of the

- BEST Co-ordinator
- Attendance Officer
- Youth Worker
- Young Peoples Worker
- Support Worker
- Student Social Worker

The BEST co-ordinator was 46 years old and had been in post 4 years. She had a background in education and was a trained teacher (who never practiced teaching) who prior to taking up the role of BEST co-ordinator was a learning mentor in the school. The youth worker was 23 years old and had been in post 14 months at the time of the interview. She had an NVQ level 2 in youth work and subsequent training in sexual health and working with young people. The young peoples' worker was 23 years old and had been working with the team for 14 months. She was a psychology graduate. The support worker was 34 years old and had been working with the team for 3 ½ years. She had the Higher Level Teaching Assistant (HLTA) qualification. All of these staff were employed by the secondary school on behalf of the cluster.

The attendance officer was 50 years old and had been in post 3 ½ years. He had no formal qualifications and had been working as an educational welfare officer within the local authority for the eight years prior to his appointment in the team. He was seconded to work in BEST from the Educational Welfare Service. The student social worker was 32 years old and was undertaking her final year practice for her degree in social work in the school. The final placement lasted for 100 days and she had been with the team for 3 months and was coming to the end of her placement.

In order to look at the relationship between staff in the secondary school and BEST as a result of the co-location, selected school staff were also asked to take part in the research. It is acknowledged that the four teaching staff were not a representative mix of the school and they were not randomly chosen. They all had varying degrees of contact with the BEST. The four members of the school staff were all qualified teachers and employed by the school. They had an average age of 46.25 years and had on average been working in their current posts (which were all in addition to classroom teaching) for 5.12 years. This is not to say that they hadn't been in teaching for many years longer than the 5.12 years in their current post. Teaching staff included;

- the lead behaviour professional (LBP), 59, who had been in her current post for 6 years as assistant headteacher (Inclusion)
- the inclusion co-ordinator, 54 who had been in post for 4 years

- the head of year 7, 47, who had been in post for 10 years
- the year 7 form tutor who had been in post for 6 months but who had previously worked in schools as a support assistant prior to training to be a teacher

Although the lead behaviour professional is listed with the school staff she actually belonged in both, she was a go between, between the school and BEST,

As referred to in the previous chapter, Ovretreit's (1993) conceptual framework can be used in thinking about the organization of BEST. They fall between the criteria for a co-ordinated team and a fully managed team. The BEST co-ordinator was responsible for the day to day management of the team, including the seconded attendance officer and the student; they also had responsibility for allocating work based on an agreed referral system, which in part was linked into the secondary school's systems to support vulnerable young people.

Overall management responsibility lay with the school's lead behaviour professional, who was the lead person in the secondary school responsible for the employment of BEST staff on behalf of the cluster. The attendance officer and student were still employed by their own agency. In the case of the student over-all responsibility lay with the university.

Ovretreit's (1993) conceptual framework cannot however be similarly applied to thinking about the relationship with the secondary school staff as they were all from a single service. Hierarchical systems are clearly delineated within schools, with overall responsibility for management lying with the headteacher who delegates responsibility to deputy and assistant headteachers. The lead behaviour professional was responsible for pastoral support in the school and line managed the other three staff interviewed.

The diagramme below provides an overview of the BEST in relation to line management of staff, supervision and professional support and programme coordination and professional support. It attempts to show the relationships between the BIP co-ordinator and the LBPs and BEST co-ordinators and the LBP,

BEST co-ordinators and school staff chosen to be part of the research. It also shows the lines of employment of staff located with BEST.

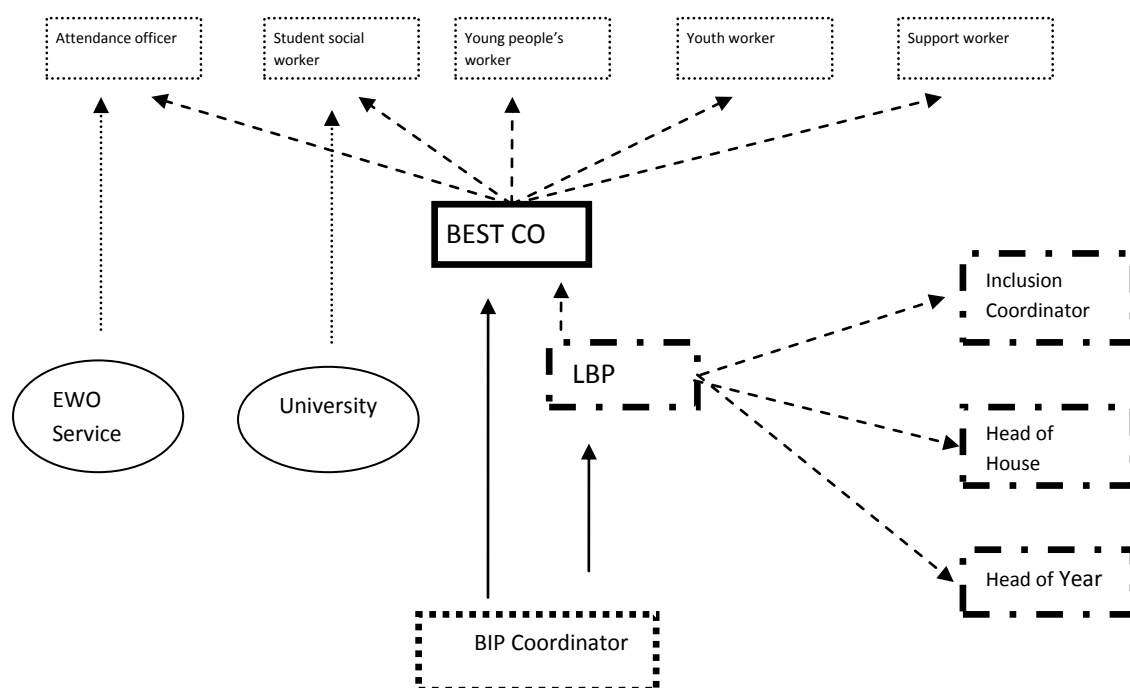
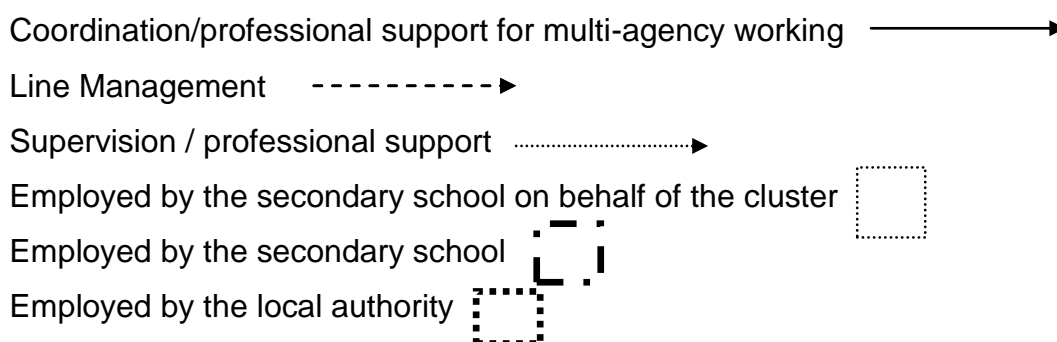


Diagram 3.2 BEST and School Staff Management Structure



3.5 Conclusion

This research is located in the context of multi-agency working as an effective way of addressing issues related to poor pupil behaviour and attendance faced by schools. Over the past decade there has been a changing landscape, supported by the previous government, of services working together under the term 'multi-agency'. That is not to say that such work hadn't occurred previously, simply that under New Labour it was afforded a higher policy profile (Cochrane, 2000; Dyson

and Robson, 1999). This chapter has outlined the national context for the development of one type of multi-agency team; a Behaviour and Education Support Team, as well as the local and team context in which this research is located. The next chapter outlines the methodological approach the author took to undertaking this research.

Chapter 4

Methodology Chapter

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the qualitative research methodological approach undertaken in conducting the research project on one multi-agency team (BEST) co-located within a small secondary school. This chapter will look at a grounded theory approach and why its use is appropriate for this study. It will also look at the issues of validation and reliability of data using a grounded theory approach. Finally this chapter will include a discussion on data collection procedures, data analysis and the role of the researcher.

This research has taken a qualitative approach, which involves interviews, observations and content analysis using a grounded theory approach. Denzin and Lincoln refer to qualitative research as

.... a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

(Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:3)

The use of a qualitative approach involves the use of data such as interviews, observations and documents as well as films and videotapes, which are used to understand and explain social phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). It can and is used across a range of disciplines (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The principle concern in qualitative research is with understanding the way in which individuals create, modify and interpret the social and cultural context in which they live (Cohen and Manion, 1980; Bryman, 2008).

Qualitative research is used when it becomes necessary to understand the meaning or nature of experiences of individuals; it lends itself to 'getting out into

the field and finding out what people are doing and thinking' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:11). It can also be use when it is necessary to understand the complexities around phenomena such as feelings, thought processes and emotions which are difficult to obtain by using other research methods (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The use of qualitative methodology suited the purpose of this research; because I wanted to develop a deeper understanding of the experiences of individual members of the Behaviour and Education Support Team (BEST), co-located in a secondary school.

4.2 Grounded Theory (Research Design and Research Analysis)

4.2.1 Theoretical Background of Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a research method which is used by many social researchers (Bryman, 2008). A grounded theory approach is

...one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection, and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge

(Strauss and Corbin, 1990:23)

In grounded theory the researcher does not begin with the end in mind. There is no formulation of a hypothesis to be tested. Rather after identifying the area of study, theory is allowed to emerge from data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Defined originally by Glaser and Strauss (1967) grounded theory is '*the discovery of theory from data*'; with the development of theories that are grounded in the data provided from the research. The centre piece of ground theory argues Creswell (1998) is the development of a theory which is closely related to the phenomenon which is being studied. Thus the theory that is derived from this data '*is more likely to resemble the 'reality' than is theory derived by putting together a series of concepts based on experience or solely through speculation*' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:12).

With the analysis of data, in grounded theory, the theory which is formulated is used to explain the phenomenon which is being studied, rather than to interpret the data (Bryman, 2008). A grounded theory then is more likely to offer insight and understanding into a social and cultural phenomenon because it is drawn from the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Literature (Creswell, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Lancy, 1993; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Bryman, 2008) into the use of a grounded theory approach indicate at least two applications; research methodology and research analysis. In discussing methodological approaches Creswell (1998) suggests that the choice of a research design is contingent on the purpose of the research study itself. As Anning et al. (2006) argued; the objective of the research study determines the choice of the qualitative methodology the researcher would use into their research into multi-professional teams.

Bryman (2008) on the other hand argues against grounded theory as both a research method and a research design. He defines 'ground theory' as a means of analysing research and not as a type of research design, arguing that the use of grounded theory often does not adhere to the required features for a 'grounded theory' approach. He suggests that the claims of the use of grounded theory are often not supported through evidence. He further argues that the term is used to imply that within research, theory is grounded in data, nothing more. Parry (1998) on the other hand argues for two types of grounded theory; full grounded theory as discussed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and partial grounded theory, which is more commonly used in research. Charmaz (2005: 529) suggests that the use of grounded theory provides us with '*methods to explicate an empirical process in ways that prompt seeing beyond it*'.

In order to further clarify features of grounded theory Bryman (2008) distinguishes between the tools of grounded theory and the outcomes of grounded theory. The tools of grounded theory consist of; theoretical sampling, coding, theoretical saturation and constant comparison. Outcomes, or products of the different phases of grounded theory on the other hand consist of; concepts, category/categories, properties, hypotheses and theory. Bryman (2008) suggests that examples of grounded theory using all of the tools and phases are rare and

that many studies show some of the ingredients for a grounded theory approach but few show all of the ingredients.

4.2.2 Issues with Grounded Theory

The use of a grounded theory approach has its criticism, including issues of 'theory neutral observations', and data collection (Goulding, 2002; Bryman, 2008; Creswell, 1998; Bulmer, 1979; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; Silverman, 2006). It has been suggested that at the earliest stages of research, at a time when it is most needed, grounded theory fails to provide a guide to the research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; Silverman, 2006). It is generally agreed that 'theory-neutral observations' are not feasible and that researchers take with them knowledge about the field into their studies (Bryman, 2008). Researchers take with them into the field of research factors which condition what they 'see'. Research undertaken by Bulmer (1979) has questioned the very reality of researchers suspending their awareness of relevant theories and concepts until the later stages of process analysis. One of the challenges to using a grounded theory approach has been the ability of the researcher to set aside any theoretical ideas so that the analytic substantive theory can emerge (Creswell, 1998). Charmaz (1983) has suggested that assumptions and analytical methods of grounded theorists have been criticised for failing to give sufficient attention to data collection techniques as well as the quality of the material collected. On the other hand it has also been suggested that, however evolving the nature of grounded theory might be, the researcher must realise that there is a need for a systematic approach and specific steps to be undertaken in data analysis (Creswell, 1998).

Researchers can also have difficulties in determining when there is sufficient data, when categories are fully 'saturated' and the 'theory' is sufficiently detailed (Creswell, 1998). This means that researchers need to be flexible and open and willing to collect data across a number of groups in order for the research to find a direction (Creswell, 1998). Using a grounded theory approach takes time. The need to collect sufficient data is balanced against the practical issue of the amount of time it takes to transcribe interviews, analysis responses and continue with data collection under tight deadlines. Then there is the time it takes to develop theories from data, often meanings are not always instantly obvious and data often needs

to be revisited time and time again before theories can begin to emerge (Golding, 2002). Thus Bryman (2008) suggests that time constraints might impact on the genuineness of grounded theory analysis.

While acknowledging and mindful of criticisms associated with a grounded theory approach, it was decided to use a grounded theory approach as it allows for the flexibility to generate theories as the research was developing and not to be hindered by hypotheses developed at the onset.

4.2.3 Why Grounded Theory Methodology is Appropriate for This Research Study

Grounded theory is '*an approach to the analysis of qualitative data that aims to generate theory out of research data by achieving a close fit between the two*' (Bryman, 2008:694). Therefore the process of data collection and data analysis proceed in tandem, repeatedly referring back to one another in the course of the research (Bryman, 2008). A ground theory approach is suitable when there is no theory available to explain a social or cultural phenomenon.

When I started this research, there was a small number of research articles published which looked at the perceptions of individuals working in multi-agency settings (Anning et al., 2006, Rose, 2009). This lack of a theoretical foundation in literature, lead me to apply an approach which draws on key principles associated with using grounded theory to my research since it is a field that has not been overly researched. This research then draws on a grounded theory approach, using where appropriate both the tools and outcomes of grounded theory. However I also acknowledge that this research will not adhere to a grounded theory approach in the strictest sense.

The perceptions of individuals working in multi-agency teams has not been well researched, however understanding the perceptions of individuals who work in these settings bears further research. If we continue to press for services to work closely together we need to understand individual perceptions in relation to multi-agency working. My hope is that the theory that will emerge at the end of this research will explain how individuals perceive their role within a multi-agency team

and afford me further understanding of individual perceptions of multi-agency working.

Grounded theory provides a systematic process of data analysis such as open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Bryman, 2008; Charmaz, 2006). This process provides tools for data analysis which make it easier for researchers to follow specific steps to develop concepts, categories, properties, hypothesis and theories (Bryman, 2008; Charmaz, 2006). Following the systematic process of a grounded theory approach, allowed me to be flexible enough in both by data selection process and data analysis, allowing me to make modifications in the process of interviewing and re-interviewing in the course of data collection. I wanted to be flexible enough to respond to data obtained, perhaps taking a different path on the journey if the data warranted it. Jeffery and Troman (2004) refer to this as the 'fluid' relationship between field work and analysis. As Strauss and Corbin (1990) argue; the time in the field should not be determined by the research design but by the data received, with the flexibility to go back and forth during the research to explore various possibilities and gain new perspectives as and when needed.

In the context of this research, I started without the development of any specific hypothesis, although I did have broad background knowledge of the development of BEST in my professional role. Using content analysis and my background knowledge as well as information gathered from my literature review, I was able to identify and narrow the focus area for my research. This then allowed me to design semi-structured interview questions. The interviews allowed me to follow up on ideas, ask for explanations, steer the conversation to focus on the topic and fill in any information gaps. Interviewing fits well with a grounded theory approach as it allows for data, ideas and views provided by the interviewees to be verified and clarified (Charmaz, 2006). Following on from this stage in the process categories and properties emerged from the data that was collected from content analysis, interviews and observations. In addition to the interviews, analysis of documents relation to the development of BEST and ongoing practice as well as observations of team meetings allowed me to compare, contrast and check data for contradictions. This process sought to ensure validity and reliability within the research. The process of developing a deeper understanding of experiences of

individual members of the Behaviour and Education Support Team (BEST), co-located in a secondary school was supported through interviews, observations and content analysis.

4.2.4 Grounded Theory-Reliability and Validity

The issues of reliability and validity are important in research. Reliability addresses the issue of accuracy within the research, '*the degree to which a measure of a concept is stable*' (Bryman, 2008:698). The researcher needs to ask themselves, how consistent are the results that the observer obtains when undertaking an observation or an interviewer when they undertake an interview (Robson, 1993)? Would someone else undertaking the same process come up with similar results? Validity is concerned with whether or not the research does what it says it will do. Does it measure what it sets out to measure or explain what it sets out to explain? Validity is concerned with '*whether or not you are observing, identifying or measuring what you say you are*' (Mason, 1996:24). It is also concerned with '*...whether the findings are 'really' what they appear to be about. Are any relationships established in the findings 'true' or due to the effect of something else*' (Robson, 1993:66)?

One way of increasing validity is through the use of respondent validation, where the researcher provides transcripts of the interviews back to individuals to check for accuracy of their perceptions and experiences (Bryman, 2008). However even in the use of respondent validation there is a note of caution... '*We cannot assume that any actor is a privileged commentator on his or her own actions, in the sense that an account of the intentions, motives, or beliefs involved are accompanied by a guarantee of their truth*' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:198).

The use of the triangulation of data, however, can increase both the reliability and the validity of data (Robson, 1993). Triangulation is an attempt to '*relate different sorts of data in such a way as to counteract various possible threats to the validity of our analysis*' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:199).

The use of content analysis, observations and interviews allowed me to not only check whether inferences were valid, but as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) have noted it also allowed me to 'discover' which inferences are valid.

Thus the use of a grounded theory approach may minimise threats to validity because I will have several opportunities to compare data throughout the research process. Further discussion on issues of validity and reliability will be dealt with in the discussion on context validity, observations and interviews later on in this chapter.

4.3 The Role of the Researcher

Qualitative analysis is a cognitive process and each individual has a different cognitive style

(Heath and Cowley, 2004:149)

As researchers, we need to understand how our style interacts with the research we are undertaking. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) argue that we must recognise the fact that we are part of the world that we study. If this is the case we need to acknowledge it and deal with it in our research, as there is no way we can escape the social world in order to study it (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). Qualitative research is based on interpretations; the researcher is involved in interviews, observations and context analysis, all of which require a measure of data interpretation. This involvement in the collection of data means that the researcher becomes to a greater or lesser extent part of the lives of those individuals or groups they are researching. Hammersley (1993) says if we asked ourselves the question '*If someone else undertook the research would the results turnout differently*' the answer would be yes every time. The differences might be small differences but they would be there just the same, they might not tell a different story, the differences might be matters of 'emphasis and orientation ' but there would be differences all the same because of the role the researcher plays in the very research they are undertaking. We cannot make qualitative research 'researcher-proof' (Hammersley, 1993). In fact Gitlin et al. (1993) argue that the danger is not 'going native' but in fact becoming too detached.

We need to understand then, that both the researcher and the participants come to the research with their own bias, perceptions and viewpoints which cannot be separated (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Further discussion on the issues of bias that I brought to the research will be discussed later in the discussion about data collection.

4.4 Access

Robson (1993) discusses negotiating access to real world research as essentially persuading other people to let you into their world in order to undertake your (the researchers') agenda. In undertaking the research, I was seeking permission to work within a specific secondary school in one local authority. In gaining permission to undertake this research, two issues arose when seeking access; obtaining permission from the local authority to undertake the research and gaining permission from the secondary school to allow BEST and school staff to take part in the research.

At the time of the research, I had been employed by the local authority for four years as the coordinator of the Behaviour Improvement Programme. Robson (1993) discusses the issues of being an 'insider' when carrying out research. In this instance the research could be described as an 'insider' study. The negatives and positives of being an 'insider' need to be considered. Interviewing colleagues; especially when you are in position of higher status than those being interviewed and the ability to maintain objectivity are just two of the potential negatives that need to be taken into consideration (Robson, 1993). I was very much aware of my position in relation to those being interviewed and this issue will be discussed later in this chapter.

The positives of being an 'insider' included intimate knowledge of the research study including an historical and developmental context as well as the day to day context in which the research is located. There is also 'inside' knowledge of how things work, who to approach and when best to approach them. As I was developing my research design, I was able to use this 'inside' knowledge; to ascertain which of the secondary schools and BEST would be approachable to engaging with the research project. This 'inside' knowledge was also useful in

discussing the possibility of working with a specific secondary school with my senior managers. Later on, when the research design was fully developed and the aims and objectives of the research identified, I approached my Head of Service for permission to undertake the research, providing a clear research proposal with aims and objectives, a research schedule and the benefits the research might have to the service. As Robson (1993) states the clearer the research design, the more informed the decision maker is in making their decision to allow the research to proceed.

Relationships between the researcher, BEST co-ordinator and lead behaviour professionals have been outlined in the previous chapter. I was employed by the local authority to oversee the co-ordination of the Behaviour Improvement Programme of which one aspect was the BEST. This meant that I had a professional relationship with members of the school and BEST, engaging with the four cluster leads (lead behaviour professionals) and the four BEST co-ordinators on a regular basis (weekly if not fortnightly). Research access was gained through the relationship that I had with one particular school, in particular the lead behaviour professional and the BEST co-ordinator. It must be acknowledged that these relationships provided the basis for access to research data in the form of individuals, observations and documentation. Hoffman (1980) talks of using existing social networks based on occupational membership. The relationship to the various schools involved in the Behaviour Improvement Programme (BIP) allowed me to gain access to one specific secondary school and their BEST through the use of social networks, relationships and 'informal sponsorship' (Liebow, 1967; Whyte, 1981; Hoffman, 1980). In spite of the problems in sampling Buchanan et al., (1998) recommends the use of friends and contacts whenever possible to gain access to research, stressing that in real world research, in the choice between what is desirable from a theoretical perspective and what is practically possible, practicality wins out.

In order to gain permission to access BEST and school staff, the researcher used her social networks (which in this instance was of a professional nature) and discussed the situation with the lead behaviour professional in the identified secondary school. Robson (1993) refers to the use of an individual such as the lead behaviour professional as a 'gatekeeper' to the research. The lead behaviour

professional then undertook a discussion with the headteacher of the school, outlining the aims and objectives of the project, in which she was acting as an 'informal sponsor' on behalf of the researcher to the headteacher. The headteacher then gave permission for the research to go ahead. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) refer to the concern that 'gatekeepers' often have in painting a 'good' picture of the organization. In this instance the lead behaviour professional acted not only as 'gatekeeper' but was one of the school staff interviewed during the research project. Her dual role as gatekeeper and informant was recognised, however it was felt that as an individual pivotal to the relationship between the school and BEST her inclusion in the research was necessary.

Bryman (2008) discusses some of the challenges in gaining access to a research group. One issue which often occurs is that the group may be suspicious of the researcher, seeing them as put into place by the management in order to check up on them. Another issue referred to by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) are the difficulties that can be experienced in gaining access during periods of transition and change, with individuals reluctant to take part in interviews for fear of outside observations of conflict, worry or concern.

Although I wasn't aware of any suspicion on the part of those involved in the research during my data gathering, I was aware of my position within the organisational structure in the local authority, particularly in relation to ongoing discussions on the use of future BIP funding. I was aware of the impact the knowledge of my relationship to the decision making process might have on individual's wanting to 'please' me and therefore give me the perceived 'right' answers in order to influence me in a positive manner in relation to BEST and job security. I was also aware that as the research took place in the latter stages of BEST, the team was going through a period of transition with regard to their professional futures within the team.

However in spite of the team undergoing a period of uncertainty regarding their futures the researcher found no difficulty in gaining access. This might have been because of her role within the programme structure. Individual BEST members might have wanted time to explore issues on a one-one basis with me, feeling I might be more available to them in my capacity as a researcher as opposed to a

programme coordinator. In order to address this at the end of each interview if participants asked questions regarding the future of the team, I informed them that the interview had ended; I then turned off my tape recorder and answered the questions to the best of my ability.

Once the school gave permission for the research to be undertaken, and the LBP had discussed this with BEST and school staff in her role as 'gatekeeper' I arranged to visit BEST and ask each team member on an individual basis if they would agree to take part in the research (Appendix 2-Permission Request). After initial discussions regarding the purpose of the research and types of questions being asked, issues of confidentiality and impact on their work schedule, all members of BEST agreed to take part in the research. One individual who had just left their position in BEST a few weeks previously, declined to be interviewed but agreed to submit written answers to the interview questions if so asked. Although she submitted answers, a decision was taken not to include her answers in the data analysis; this was due to not being able to clarify or further develop answers to the initial interview questions.

Due to time constraints and the lead behaviour professional having more intimate knowledge of those school staff who were closely involved in working with BEST, I left it up to her to choose a cross section of school staff to interview. This ensured their agreement from the onset. It also meant that there was little if any relationship between me and the school staff, so the issues of my relationship to them were of less significance.

4.5 Data Collection

Prior to access being agreed and as part of the research design, I needed to decide what type of data needed to be collected; data which would allow the collection of perceptions and views of BEST and school staff. Documentary evidence (see below for more detailed discussion) was collected in order to understand the national agenda at the time of the research, including policies in relation to multi-agency working and local context, including a range of materials pertaining to the development of BEST with the local authority and school context.

As part of data collection, participant observations were made of several team meetings in order to further understand how team members interact with one another, how decisions were reached, and how disagreements were resolved. As Anning et al. (2006) identified in their research into multi-agency team meetings, these meetings are often a major forum for interaction, discussion and decision making which is useful data to collect. In order to gain access to perceptions and feelings about the process, semi-structured interviews were undertaken with BEST and with selected members of secondary school staff. The data collection was carried out over the academic year 2007/08, from October 2007 until July 2008.

In collecting data in the form of observations and interviews I considered a range of options in trying to establish how data could systematically be collected. Could data be collected over a long period of time, revisiting the research site at regular intervals or temporal phases, over shorter compressed period of time or could the data be collected over a period of time as and when needed. Jeffery and Troman (2004) refer to these differing options as; recurrent time mode, compressed time mode and selective intermittent time mode. As previously stated I was employed on a fulltime basis by the local authority. This meant that there were constraints on my time and flexibility regarding data collection. Although I was able to visit the site frequently, I was unable to collect data at predetermined times (recurrent time mode), nor was I able to stay at the school for block periods of times (compressed time mode) without negative impact to my day to day professional work. As I was in and out of the school, undertaking interviews, observations and collecting additional information during this time period, 'selective intermittent time mode' was used as it provided flexibility to site visits and accessibility to individuals. In the following sections I will reflect in more detail on the methods of data collection adopted for this research study.

4.5.1 Documentary Evidence (Content Analysis)

The collection of documentary evidence often referred to as content analysis, allowed the researcher to gain background and supplemental information on the development of BEST. The information was provided in the documentation distributed by the then Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF) for the development of BEST. It was also provided in local documentation, which

reflected a local interpretation of the national agenda. Documentation allowed me insight into the development of the team from a number of perspectives. As Anning et al. (2006) writes of their use of documentation in researching multi-agency teams; documentation allowed researchers to become better acquainted with the work of the team in an unobtrusive and a non-reactive manner. Robson (1993) lists this 'unobtrusive' nature of evidence as one of the advantages of working with documentation. Another advantage of documentation is that it allows you to 'observe' evidence without being observed and therefore your presence does not affect the outcome of the observation (Robson, 1993).

A range of documentary evidence was collected for the research including; BEST Guidelines for Practice, initial project bids; including a framework for the establishment of BEST, action plans, policies, minutes and team structures. As well as documentary evidence for BEST, contextual data on the school as outlined in the context chapter was collected including Ofsted reports, exclusion, attendance and attainment data. The documentation provided background information, which allowed me to become more familiar with the team and school outside of my role as the Behaviour Improvement Co-ordinator. Reading minutes of meetings personalised the team, showing their successes [*congratulations to VH for becoming an accredited Triple P practitioner-BEST minutes 4.10.07.*] and sharing of information [*LTdescribed appropriate intervention and de-escalation techniques-BEST minutes-17.5.07*] (Appendix 3-BEST Minutes).

The use of documentation also provided information on how BEST functioned as a team, as well as indicating the formal links with the school in which BEST was located. This information was of value in understanding the relationship between the team members and the school. As Anning et al. (2006) states documentary information is useful because it highlights the interplay between the documented structures of the team and the way the team actually works. The fact that the documents were in a permanent form and could be subjected to repeated analysis over a period of time suited the researcher as she was able to revisit the data repeatedly, using the documentation to triangulate with other data in the development of categories and properties.

In spite of using documentation, I was aware that there were also disadvantages to using documentary evidence (Robson, 1993). The documentation used might not be complete and/or there might be information missing. In order to address this I limited the information used to include; background documentation to the programme, any information the cluster/school had about the team, staff timetables, job descriptions and minutes of team meetings, The information I collected was in the public domain and held both centrally (within the local authority) as well as within the school and BEST. In theory therefore if there were gaps in documentation, I could look in a number of settings for the missing information. In spite of having taken these steps however documentation has been lost. In looking through the minutes of the Behaviour Improvement Steering Group from 2003 when the programme started, some of which are in paper form and others which are in electronic form, there are gaps in the cross over from paper to electronic files. In analysing the documentation, the gaps don't appear to cause difficulty in understanding the processes undertaken in the development of the programme.

Another disadvantage in using documentation is that documents can have their own bias, and this must also be accounted for. Scott (1990) writes that documents cannot always be counted on as providing objective accounts stating that they need to be interrogated and examined alongside other data. This objectivity was an issue in using the Behaviour Improvement Programme Steering Group minutes, in particular because these minutes were in large part a reflection of the work undertaken by me in my professional role. As I was present at these meetings and to a large extent provided information to these meetings, which was recorded in the minutes, it was difficult for me to be objective in ascertaining if they were a true reflection of what occurred. Triangulation with other data will help to address this.

In his work Scott (1990) suggests four criteria for assessing the quality of documents; authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. In this instance I had no concerns regarding the authenticity of the documentation which I reviewed. Until recently with a change of government, national documents were in the public domain and could be downloaded from the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) website, although paper copies were provided by

national project leads at the onset of the project. I also had no reason to doubt the authenticity of the local documentation, which I received as it was provided by the BEST co-ordinator and the lead behaviour professional. This authenticity was reinforced by comparing a random sampling of minutes of meetings of all four BEST co-ordinators taken by me in my role as BIP co-ordinator and comparing them to minutes of team meetings, comparing the messages given.

With regard to the issue of credibility, I would argue that from my perspective there was no way to ascertain if the documentation was free from error and distortion. The assumption was made in relation to minutes of meetings that any errors in recording would be brought to the attention of the next meeting under the agenda item 'review of minutes' when team members agreed previous minutes. However I must also acknowledge that documentation received from the BEST co-ordinator and LBP reflected their views on what information was needed and I have no way of knowing what, if any documentation wasn't provided to me. Another issue, which links to credibility, is the issue of causal relationships. With documentation it is difficult to assess causal relationships e.g. between writer and audience, between individuals being written about in minutes to name but a few. However, in this research I was able on two occasions to compare observations of meetings that I attended with the actual minutes of the meetings to assess the relationships between the individual team members.

With the issue of representativeness, I had no way of knowing if the documents received were a fully comprehensive set of documents. As in the research undertaken by Forster's (1994) study of company documentation or Kapsis's (1989) study of Alfred Hitchcock, there is no way of knowing what information wasn't made available or to what extent the individuals taking minutes and writing reports provided a true reflection of the situation.

Scott's final criterion is one of meaning. Different documentation provides different questions with regard to issues of meaning. Minutes provided used a type of 'short hand' with initials to represent staff and phrases to outline issues discussed. This provided a fractured view of issues with little depth of meaning. This was in contrast to the national documentation which provided detailed accounts of how to establish BEST, aims and objectives, the development of action plans etc. Another

issue to be considered under meaning is the use of language and meaning. As mentioned earlier part of this research is looking at the terminology used by individual members of BEST and school staff in relation to 'multi-agency' working. With documentary evidence I had no way of ensuring if the meanings used in national documentation were the same as the meanings used in local documentation.

Robson (1993) reminds us that documents are written for a purpose, not necessarily structured with the research in mind. As research suggests (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Hammersley, 1998) all classes of data have their problems with issues of validity. The issue is to identify those characters within the research which might have validity implications and reference these to other materials within the data. To address this, documentation was triangulated with other forms of data; the documentation was used here to inform at the beginning of the research as well as to provide supplementary evidence later on in the research process.

4.5.2 Observation of Team Meetings

In their research Anning et al. (2006) used observations of team meetings to supplement the information provided through their reading of documents pertaining to the development of the multi-agency teams. Robson (1993) refers to the participants of observations as actors, observations allow researchers to watch what they do and say. In this research, observations of team meetings allowed me to understand how team members interacted with one another and the discussion which happened around the decision making process. In undertaking the observations consideration needed to be paid to the relationship between the researcher as observer, the rest of the team and the impact this might have on the data. Gold (1958) describes the 'observer-as-participant' as someone who takes no part in the activity but whose status as researcher is known to the participants. Cohen and Manion (1980) describe this as a non-participant observer. Robson (1993) points out however, that it is questionable if anyone who is known to be a researcher is able to 'not take part in the activity', their very presence will have an impact to some extent on the activity and hence the validity of the observation. This was the issue with me in observing team meetings. As I was known to the

individual members it was difficult not to have some involvement in the activities observed, if only at the onset and end of the meetings. It was also difficult not to feel that my presence in some way impacted on the information provided during discussions observed. In addition, Cohen and Manion (1980) highlight the issue of internal validity in relation to the observer being known to the group they are observing. Bryman (2008) refers to this as the 'reactive effect' that is, the impact the researcher has on the individuals who are being observed.

In the case of this research my relationship to the team would have had some influence on their discussions within their team meetings. However given the team members familiarity with me it could be argued as does Fetterman (1998) and Robson (1993) that my presence would either be 'forgotten' or they would become so accustomed to seeing me, since they knew me already, that the team would quickly fall into normal patterns of behaviour. More of an issue is acknowledging that my judgement in recording what was observed might have been affected by my relationship with the team.

Minutes of the two meetings at which I undertook observations show no record of any input from the observer, apart from noting my presence. However it is difficult to ascertain what would have happened if I wasn't observing the meetings. Webb et al. (1966:13) refer to the 'reactive measurement effect' in which the researcher's very presence in a context in which a researcher is normally not present influences the behaviour of the group.

I attended two staff meetings one in November and one in December, approximately 5 weeks apart (Appendix 4-Notes of Observations of BEST Team Meetings). The meetings took place at the end of the school day beginning approximately at 3:30 PM and lasted approximately 1-1/2 hours. The meetings had an agenda and were minuted, with my presence noted as 'being in attendance' in the minutes. Verbal permission was obtained prior to me observing meetings from the lead behaviour professional, BEST co-ordinator and individual team members. Notes were taken, with permission sought from the group prior to each meeting. The decision was taken not to tape or video the meetings because of time constraints and the difficulty in transcribing verbal recordings with a large number of people. It was also felt that a video recording would be more intrusive in

the small room that the team meetings took place in, than just me and a note pad. I sat slightly off centre from the group around a small table. As the room was relatively small, I was unable to sit totally apart from the group. As I was also known to the group I felt that sitting apart from the group might be perceived in a negative manner and I wanted to continue to persuade BEST to allow me to observe their meetings. During this time members discussed referrals, current cases and issues which had arisen over the previous weeks.

Prior to the meeting starting I drew up a seating plan, identifying individuals and where they sat in relation to other members of the team. I also noted the presence of coffee, tea, and biscuits and the manner in which individual's came into the room e.g. chatting, laughing. During the time period observed, I recorded the events that were happening during the observation as they were happening; who was talking, when they were talking and how others responded to what was being said. Consideration was also paid to the verbal (the use of voice and more listening than talking) and non-verbal (facial expression, eye contact, head nods, gestures, physical proximity, contact and posture and orientation) dimensions of the interview process. Attention was paid to these responses in order to act on the clues (Robson, 1993) which helped to understand the behaviours observed.

Robson, (1993) refers to a descriptive form of observation, which is used to record events including; the space the observations of the team meetings takes place in, the activities of the actors, the objects in the room, specific acts of the actors, the type of event, the time and sequences of events which happened during the meeting, the goals or outcomes of the individual discussions and the feelings or emotions experienced including non verbal communication (Appendix 4- Notes of Observations of BEST Team Meetings). Martin and Bateson (1986) refer to this as '*ad libitum sampling*'. It could be argued that 'focal sampling' was also used in accordance with Martin and Bateson's definition of 'focal sampling' in that all examples of behaviour were recorded over the set period of time, however in this instance, sampling was not specific to one individual, rather it was used for the whole team and undertaken during two team meetings.

In this small scale research project I acknowledged that I was unable to address the issues of 'inter-observer and intra-observer consistency'. With the small scale

nature of the research I was unable to finance a second person to 'co-observe' in order to ensure an agreement in relation to the coding on what was being observed. Nor was I able to address the issue of intra-observer consistency acknowledging that my observation of the second staff meeting might not be totally consistent with my observation of the first interview. Martin and Bateman (1996) argue that the use of concordance indices to measure inter and intra-observer consistency is only needed if there is an issue as to why there needs to be an agreement over each occurrence of behaviour.

4.5.3 One-to-one Interviews

The main body of data collection was through one to one interviews. The interviews aim to give a 'thick' description, enabling an interpretation of experiences of the people involved in multi-agency teams from their own perspectives (Robson, 1993). The interview schedule was drawn up from literature and from my interest in understanding perceptions from a multi-agency perspective. In their work Anning et al. (2006) refer to the use of interviews as providing information on the team members as individual's and their feeling in relation to specific issues. I felt that interviews provided information and insight about individual's perceptions of working within BEST and selected school staff's views of working with BEST in a school setting.

In undertaking the interviews I considered and then disregarded a number of forms of interviewing prior to settling on a semi-structured interview format (Appendix 5 and 5a-Original and Supplementary Questions). Gillham (2000) used the phrase the 'verbal data dimension' to describe the full range of unstructured and structured data collection, everything from listening in to others conversation to structured questionnaires with closed questions. I had already used 'verbal observation' during my observations of team meetings, because of the need to obtain specific information within a designated time frame. I didn't feel that is was appropriate to use in one-one interviews because time constraints and information requirements dictated the need for a more structured form of data collection.

However I also did not want to completely close off the opportunity to explore various ideas in depth, reasons for the various responses and concepts, which

developed from discussions, for this reason I chose not to use structured questions or questionnaires. Another reason for not using questionnaires was the return rate. The return rate for questionnaires (Cohen and Manion, 1980; Robson, 1993) is relatively small in comparison with interviews. As a small scale research project, I needed to ensure I maximized the amount of data returned.

Interviews with BEST were arranged in discussion with the lead behaviour professional, who developed an interview schedule with times and dates agreed with BEST. I wanted to ensure that interviews with BEST and school staff took place during term time. Although most of BEST worked over school holidays, I didn't want to impose my time onto teachers' holiday periods. Robson (1993) suggests access is about persuading people to let you in and I felt that I would not gain favour with teaching staff if I asked them to meet up during their holidays, when they would in all likelihood have made other plans.

Due to the location of the secondary school and due to the fact that I was arranging interviews around my work schedule, wherever possible interviews were grouped together. Initial time allocation for the interviews was approximately 45 minutes. However there was flexibility in the timings of twenty to thirty minutes either way. Interviews with BEST were undertaken in the small anteroom next to their main office. As the BEST interviews took place in the room next to their office on occasion if someone wasn't available because they were late coming back from working with a client, another individual might volunteer to be interviewed at an earlier time. If this didn't occur then the interview was rearranged.

Interviews with the school staff were also arranged in discussion with the lead behaviour professional who set up an interview schedule during a day when staff were on In-service Training, which is time for staff to work on specific issues, with pupils not in school. The interview schedule was slightly shorter than with BEST. The interviews took place in the individual teachers' base e.g. work rooms which were spread across the school.

One member of the team who had just left was reluctant to be interviewed, however they willingly submitted written answers to the interview questions. This was fine however it didn't allow the researcher to tease out or clarify issues arising

from the interview responses. The small scale nature of the project and the number of people to be interviewed was manageable, ten, including members of the team and school staff. The interviewees were all located within one location which was easily accessible from both its location and the timeframe in which the interviews took place.

The interviews took the form of a semi-structured interview schedule with unstructured responses (Cohen and Manion, 1980) using open ended questions and interview prompts and probes which allowed for the flexibility to explore and modify the questions as each interview proceeded. The interview began with highly structured sequences (Robson, 1993) in order to obtain factual information e.g. age, gender and area of responsibility of each member of BEST and school staff interviewed. This was in part to put the interviewee at ease with the questions being asked. The remaining questions were open-ended questions which allow for the interview to be flexible enough to probe further if needed, to clear up any misunderstandings or to allow for elaboration of certain points. They also allowed for the gathering of unexpected responses because they provided no restrictions on the context or manner of reply on the part of the respondent (Robson, 1993).

Ethical considerations were addressed at the beginning of each interview and team observations. At the start of each interview, I again asked if the interviewee was willing to take part in the interview and at this point I asked for written consent. The interviewee was also asked to give permission for the interview to be tape recorded. One individual taking part in the interview asked not to be taped recorded. On this occasion I made notes, which I later transcribed.

Issues of confidentiality were explained at the start of each interview with individuals being informed that transcripts would be coded and individuals would not be referenced by name. However due to the small nature and professional membership of the team and the small number of school staff interviewed, individuals might be identified by their professional status. However, the BEST and the location of the school and hence school staff, would not be easily identified in the research ensuring confidentiality for individual team members and school staff. I had an introductory 'script' which I referred to at the start of each interview. While acknowledging Tuckman's (1972) view that the indirect approach is more likely to produce frank and open responses than a direct approach, it was decided to used

a direct approach because I felt that there needed to be clarity as to what questions were being asked, acknowledging that direct questioning can at times result in less frank answers.

In order to address issues of validity, the interview schedule was piloted with questions trialled with a neutral party, of a similar age and occupation but who were not part of the interview process (Gillham, 2000). Referred to by Gillham (2000) as the management dimension of the interview process, it encompasses factors which give flavour and direction to the interview. This allowed me to get a feel for the process including the approximate time frame needed in which to conduct the interview. Trialling the interview process also helped to identify which questions were repetitive and which questions needed additional prompting. This enabled me to develop a list of 'prompts' and 'probes' should they be needed. What it didn't account for however was the differences in interpretation of the questions by the differing professionals asked. This was an issue which became more apparent as the interviews progressed.

Using a grounded theory approach, the interviews were undertaken in two phases. Phase one consisted of the original questions and phase two consisted of follow up questions which arose out of the answers in phase one (Appendix 5 and 5a Original and Supplementary Questions).

As stated previously the use of a ground theory approach, speaks to an iterative process, with data collection and analysis occurring in parallel (Byrman, 2008). This is evident in the interview process, with the second phase of questioning developing out of an analysis of responses provided in the first phase.

Initially I was interested in gaining a better understanding of the perceptions of individual members of BEST and selected school staff in relation to a number of factors which research indicates (Tett et al., 2001; Cameron and Lart, 2003; Ball, 1997) can support or hinder multi-agency working. This interest was instrumental in the formation of the initial questions in the semi-structured interviews.

The interviews began with factual questions about the respondents' age, length of time in post and job title. Following these questions the interviewer had set out

nine basic questions, with prompts and probes to tease out additional information. The final question encouraged participants to discuss any other issues or aspects of multi-agency working of importance to them.

The interview questions explored the following issues;

1. *How would you define the term 'multi-agency' in multi-agency team?*
2. *What is your role/responsibility in the team?*
3. *What professional knowledge and skills do you bring to the team? To the school?*
4. *What is your experience of sharing these skills and knowledge within the team? The school?*
5. *How has your knowledge and skills been used in the team? The school?*
6. *What has supported you in using your knowledge and skills in the team? The school?*
7. *What has constrained you in using your knowledge and skills in the team? In the school?*
8. *How do you see the relationship between the team and the school?*
9. *What do you think of co-locating the team in a secondary school?*
10. *Is there anything else you would like to say?*

There were a number of potential issues which I needed to consider when undertaken the interviews which would impact on research validity. Cohen and Manion (1983) suggest that one of the best ways in dealing with issues of validity is to minimize the amount of bias. Kitwood (1977) in Cohen and Manion (1983) has identified three 'conceptions' or views of interviews. The first view is that if the interviewer does their job well and the interviewee is well motivated and sincere then the information and data that is obtained will be accurate. This means that any issues of bias can be eliminated with the skill of the interviewer. The second view is that regardless of what is done, bias will creep into interviews and this must be recognised and controlled for. The third view says that the interview is a social encounter with individuals in which factors such as bias must be included. The solution according to Kitwood (1977) is to account for as many of these factors as possible.

Hammersley (1998) argues in ethnographical research that, the profession, age and gender of both the interviewer and interviewee can have an impact on data. These factors were taken into consideration as potential sources of bias (Hammersley, 1998; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983) on the participants as well as the influences these played in researcher bias. Warren (1998) discusses how gender can shape research findings an issue especially emphasized by feminists. However, in this research all but one of the research participants was female and the lone male was used to working within an all female environment. I also felt that my age wasn't an issue. Again Hammersley argues that a much younger or older researcher might have been alienated from the group. Most of the research participants were slightly younger than me, with all but one member, the student, having worked in the team for at least 6 months prior to the interviews. To this end I considered but discounted the relevance of gender and age as an issue for bias. As Hammersley (1998) argues it is not whether these factors have had an impact on the interview, it is whether or not they have had a significant effect on the validity of the findings.

With respect to bias, however, I did consider whether my professional status both as a person in a position of power and as a teacher would be an issue. I was conscious from my previous work with multi-agency teams that as a teacher there was a tendency to become defensive if/when negative comments were made about 'teachers'. I was aware of my own prejudices with regard to criticism of teachers and the potential difficulties my professional role placed on the interviews. Unfortunately the small scale nature of the research, the limited timeframe and the lack of funding didn't allow for controls to be built into the research which would minimize the amount of interviewer bias (Cohen and Manion, 1983). However knowing this tendency was likely to occur; I had developed strategies to minimize the influence this had on the research by using semi-structured interviews to provide a structure to the research. As Hammersley (1998) states it is not whether or not the process or characteristics have affected responses but have they been affected in ways that are relevant to the research.

It was difficult at times for me to establish and maintain my independence in my capacity as researcher from my professional capacity as programme lead. Fetterman (1998) discusses the need when undertaking research for the

researcher to maintain impartiality or at least a non-judgmental position. Often during the interviews the participants would make reference to the longer term outcomes for themselves and/or the young people they worked with, trying to obtain confirmation of the continued existence of the team. Fetterman, (1998) refers to difficulties in maintaining independence during the research from those very circumstances or individuals which allowed the researcher access initially. At the end of the interviews, when the tape recorder was turned off, I would provide answers to questions asked by the individual being interviewed in my capacity as Behaviour Improvement Programme co-ordinator.

Kitwood, (1977) argues within every interview process there is a balance to be reached between reliability and validity. The very nature of a 'successful' interview could be classed as one that is interpersonal and accounts for the differences of each interviewee. At each interview, the interviewee feels able to disclose aspects of themselves, their thoughts, feelings and values because they feel at ease with the situation. This human element is necessary to the 'validity' of the interview. However this 'human element' this interpersonal interaction between interviewer and interviewee makes the interview less 'reliable'. The more 'reliable' the interview is, the more rational, calculating and detached it is, the less likely the interviewee is going to feel willing to disclose aspects of themselves and their views and opinions.

After each interview the tapes were transcribed. This transcription was then returned to the individual interviewed in order to validate that the transcription was a true and accurate reflection of the interview. This respondent validation ensured that the information provided was a true reflection of what was being said.

'Validation is achieved when others, particularly the subjects of the research, recognise its authenticity...' (Cohen and Manion, 1980:241).

Data from the observations, interviews and documentary evidence was triangulated and used to provide different perspectives and to counteract disadvantages of the methods used in isolation and not as a means to provide the 'objective truth' within the research (Silverman, 2004; Cohen and Manion, 1980).

4.6 Data Analysis

Using a ground theory approach I began with an interest in understanding the different perceptions of BEST and school staff i.e. the primary research question. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967:45) theoretical sampling

is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. The process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory.

In this research context, theoretical sampling was undertaken using documents, observations and interviews of individual members of BEST and selected school staff in order to ascertain individual's perceptions within a multi-agency setting. Using a grounded theory approach, during the first phase of interviews, interviews were coded according to individual, time, date and location of interview. Using an adaptation of a model developed by Hycner, (1985) each interview was transcribed noting the literal statements as well as the non-verbal and paralinguistic communication and example of which can be seen in the transcription from 1st interview of support worker (with input from the interviewee in bold)

Question from interviewee*what about multi-professional then could you call yourself multi-professional.....you said earlier that you considered yourself to be a professional as opposed to a multi-agency team [ummmmmmm] because you all came from an educational background [um] and that was professional you think your inter-professional or multi-professional [giggle] I know I know.....*

Attempts were made to understand what the interviewee is saying rather than what the interviewer wants to hear (Appendix 6 and 7 -Transcriptions of 1st and 3rd persons interviewed). The interview was then listened to a second and third time in order to ensure as much accuracy as possible. The transcription was then returned to the interviewee for verification of its accurateness, including the hand written notes. This ensured that staff were in agreement with the transcriptions and that they were also able to correct any mistakes which might have been made. This ensured that from the interviewee's perspective the interviews were a valid representation of their views and responses. This wasn't possible for the one

member of the team who had left for another position. Several attempts were made to reach her but these were all unsuccessful, in spite of her assurance that she would be willing to engage in the research process after she left her position. However the transcript was still included in the research data. With one respondent the quality of the recording was so poor that only snatches and phrases were able to be transcribed. Even when the transcript was presented back to the respondent to allow them to 'fill in the gaps' so to speak, there was too little information to make overall sense of the interview.

The analysis of data began with using the initial 10 questions as headings, with each question written on the top of an A4 sheet of paper. Individual interview transcript responses were coded in order to identify which response belonged to which interviewee. Each interview transcript was broken down into the differing responses for each question and glued onto the corresponding A4 sheet of paper. The researcher then identified and highlighted key words and phrases in each response, e.g.

Question 1- How would you define the term multi-agency in multi-agency team?

Response (LBP) **representatives** from **all services** involved with the young people in our care, including the school

Response (BEST Co) **more than two or three agencies** I would think

Response (Support worker) multi-agency would be a group of **professionals** from different backgrounds **coming together to make one team**

A number of supplementary questions were asked in the first interview to further clarify responses e.g. *Do you think the terms multi-agency and inter-agency are the same?*

Response (LBP) multi-agency infers **all**....Inter-agency.....between some agencies **leaving others out**

A number of issues arose out of the first set of interview questions which needed to be explored further. This need for new data, developing out of the collection of previous data is the basic premise of a ground theory approach (Bryman, 2008). I

went back to the respondents and undertook a second round of interviews, asking questions generated from responses during the first round of interviews. Eight members of the original team were interviewed a second time. By the time of the second interview one of the members of BEST had left, as discussed above attempts to contact her were unsuccessful. One of the teaching staff also refused to take part in the second interview, arguing lack of time.

The second set of interview questions were developed to provide further data in order to expand on emerging concepts from the initial interviews. An analysis of responses from the first phase of interviews identified two areas in which further data was required. The first area was gaps in data that some of the respondents had failed to provide during the initial interview. The second area was questions that arose out of the responses from the initial interviews.

Gaps in information occurred when I was unable to delve deep enough into the respondents' answers during the first interview. This type of information included clarity in skills and knowledge that individuals brought to the team. It was only after an analysis of initial responses that I recognised that some respondents were referring to codified knowledge and some were referring to personal knowledge in their responses.

Question 3-What professional knowledge and skills do you bring to the team? To the school?

Responded (young people's worker)-psychology degree, training in dyslexia and autism=codified knowledge

Responded (attendance officer) skills to deal with volatile and underachievers=personal knowledge

In this instance, I used the second interview to expand on individual responses and ask specifically if they had any formal qualifications. Research by Anning et al. (2006) highlights the issue that individuals tend to discuss personal knowledge and skills before they refer to more formal qualifications.

There were also three new questions asked, based on responses from some of the respondents in the initial interviews which the researcher felt needed to be explored further.

The first question related to the **concept of 'ethos'**. During the initial interview several individuals (the youth worker from the group who were confident in their roles and responsibilities and the social worker from the group that was less confident) referred to the 'ethos' of being a youth worker or the ethos of being a social worker. This lead me to question whether or not this 'ethos of being/belonging to a profession helped to anchor an individual's identity? So I asked the supplementary question *'is there an ethos to being a teacher, social worker, youth worker etc?*

The second question followed on from issues around **sharing information** and comments made from respondents regarding the differing perspectives individual members bring to the team. Tett et al., (2001) argues the need within a multi-agency team for everyone to be clear about the tasks they are undertaking, which is at times difficult when each partner agency has different professional language to discuss targets, expectations and outcomes. The research was interested in the use of different terminology used to describe 'thresholds' when referring clients across services. Thresholds here are defined as *'that point where something becomes a cause for concern for one person, but perhaps isn't a cause for concern for others.'* The supplementary question was asked

'have there ever been issues regarding the use of language, a threshold for one member of the team which isn't a threshold for other members of the team'?

The third question that was asked was about the **'best' and 'worst'** experience of working in BEST. The question allowed for respondents to share experiences both positive and negative of working within a multi-agency setting.

These 'second' interviews responses were then transcribed and read and reread. A similar process to that undertaken with the first set of questions was undertaken. Transcripts were coded according to which respondent was replying and glued to

an A4 sheet of paper with the question as headings (Appendix 8 Coding of Transcripts). I then spent time grouping and regrouping the all of the questions, from both the first and second set of interviews with a particular focus on emerging properties of terminology, knowledge and skills and roles and responsibilities. In the data analysis, data in relation to 'co-location' was seen as a thread which ran throughout these properties. With a grounded theory approach, Glaser and Strauss, (1967) refer to this process as 'saturation'.

Responses from question 1 (and each of the subsequent questions) were grouped together under appropriate headings which were identified from literature. In relation to the first question therefore emerging headings were one of defining multi-agency in relation to either a organisational perspective or a numerical perspective as identified by Pettit (2003) and Lloyd et al. (2001) (Appendix 9-Coding-Grouping).

Eventually from the data the research identified in line with Glaser and Strauss (1967) a main category and three properties belonging to the main category. As the main category the analysis identified 'professional identity' with three properties:

- 1 Roles and responsibilities and professional identity
(action/behaviour)
- 2 Knowledge and skills and professional identity (understanding)
- 3 Terminology and professional identity (language)

4.7 Conclusion

The aim of this small scale research project was to consider the perceptions and views of those professionals working within the multi-agency team in relation to roles and responsibilities, knowledge and skills, the use of terminology and the co-location of BEST within a secondary school.

In this chapter I have explored the research methodology used to undertake research into perceptions of individuals with a multi-agency team and selected school staff. This chapter has outlined the rationale and background for using a grounded theory approach. I chose a grounded theory approach to research

analysis because I wanted to allow for the continued development of theory from the data provided from the interviews; I wanted to explore without a preconceived idea, the perceptions of individuals in relation to multi-agency working.

Using a framework which includes content analysis, observations and interviews I have addressed a number of methodological issues and challenges in researching individual perceptions within BEST and school staff, giving wherever possible examples of how the issues were addressed. I have discussed challenges to gaining access to data as well as the potential influences and impact on the data, acknowledging my relationship to the process of developing multi-agency teams. In this chapter I have also looked at issues of validity and reliability which are present in this research study, giving strategies to address the issues. It further addresses the role of the researcher.

In the following chapter I will discuss in detail the findings of the research, exploring the emerging category of professional identity in relation to the properties of roles and responsibilities, knowledge and skills and terminology.

Chapter 5

Research Findings

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has discussed the use of a grounded theory approach to undertaking this specific small scale research into multi-agency working. Using a grounded theory approach the research was developed and shaped around the data received from content analysis, observations and interviews. The aim of this research was to look at the impact multi-agency working has had on the individual members of one multi-agency team (BEST) and selected school staff, all of whom are located within a secondary school. The research focused on the processes of individuals coming together to form a multi-agency team and selected school staff they interacted with. The objectives of the research were to;

- consider the experiences individual team members have in sharing their knowledge and skills with individuals from other professions, while working in a multi-agency team
- consider the experiences individual team members have in developing and maintaining their individual roles and responsibilities while working in a multi-agency team
- consider the experiences and views of selected secondary school staff, in sharing knowledge and skills with the multi-agency team, within the secondary school in which the team was based
- consider the experiences of selected secondary school staff in their understanding of the individual roles and responsibilities of the multi-agency team members
- consider the use of specific terminology in relation to expectations of individual members of what it means to work in a 'joined up' manner
- consider the impact of co-locating the multi-agency team within a secondary school setting

As discussed in the previous chapter, using a grounded theory approach the research identified a main category and three properties. This chapter explores the

emerging category of professional identity and three properties, which are highlighted below, they are;

Professional identity

- 4 Roles and responsibilities and professional identity (action/behaviour)
- 5 Knowledge and skills and professional identity (understanding)
- 6 Terminology and professional identity (language)

There is however, an issue which needs to be addressed at the start of this chapter. There is a wide range of literature into multi-agency working as identified within the literature review. There is research into the development of the policy of multi-agency working (SEU, 1997; Milbourne et al., 2003; Lloyd, 2000; Gewirtz, 2002) which has been explored in previous chapters. There has also been discussion in the literature review on the use of terminology to describe 'joined up' working (Easen et al. 2000; Soan, 2006; Leathard, 1994; Pettit, 2003) and models of multi-agency working (Tett et al., 2001; Lloyd et al, 2001; Tomlinson, 2003; Atkinson et al., 2002; Dyson et al., 1998; Audit Commission, 1998; Ovretreit, 1993). Reasons for and barriers to multi-agency working (Tett et al., 2003; Hallam, 2005; Bagley et al., 2004; Milbourne, 2002; Geddes, 1997; Pearce and Hillman, 1998), have also been discussed in the literature review.

Little has actually been written however, until recently with regard to processes undertaken by multi-agency teams in their development. As outlined above research has tended to focus on the reasons for professionals working together, barriers, policy etc.. Research that has focused on the perceptions of multi-agency teams and their experiences in relation to their day to day work has been limited. For this reason, within this chapter the analysis in situating the data draws heavily but not exclusively on the work of Anning et al. (2006) and to a lesser extent the work of Rose (2009), whose work looks at perceptions of identity within multiagency teams. In line with the work of Anning et al. (2006) and Rose (2009) this chapter will explore in detail the findings of the research, exploring the emerging category of professional identity in relation to; roles and responsibilities, knowledge and skills and terminology.

5.2 Professional Identity

Identity dilemmas occur when there are tensions between an individual's specialist but bounded professional knowledge and their wider knowledge, which spans professional boundaries

(Rose, 2009:3)

Bligh (1979) likens each profession to a tribe. As within a tribe where there are clear roles and responsibilities, so too there are clear roles and responsibilities within a profession. Similarly as within a tribe, within professions argues Bligh (1979) there are rules which must be upheld and sanctions for those who break the rules. The tribe has leaders, structures and systems and a clear hierarchy; as do professional bodies. Any member of the tribe (or profession) who does not adhere to the hierarchy or rules finds themselves expelled from the group. If members of the tribe take on ideas from other groups they may also be threatened with exclusion. Taking this comparison further, Bligh (1976) argues that in spite of the push towards multi-agency working, professionals are not trained to work in a collaborative way with other professionals; in fact professionally they may be actively educated against working closely with individuals from other professions. Anning et al. (2006) also argue that in creating situations where we are asking professionals to put aside their long established 'tribal' beliefs and behaviours to work together within a multi-agency setting; we have to acknowledge that working within a multi-agency setting could have an impact on the development of an individual's professional identity. We cannot expect this to occur without issues arising.

5.3 Roles and Responsibilities and Professional Identity

Anning et al. (2006) argue that in the formation of multi-agency teams we are asking professionals to develop different behaviours and beliefs to those that they hold within their individual professions. Wilson and Pirrie (2000) argue that this is the epistemological dimension to defining multi-agency working, which is a new way of working which blurs the boundaries between professions, thereby creating a willingness to trust, tolerate and share responsibility within the team. If that is the case, it is necessary to understand how individual professionals view themselves

initially; how they perceive their roles and responsibilities within their own profession before understanding how they see themselves as part of a multi-agency team.

Table 5.1 sets out the staff within BEST and school who were interviewed, the number of interviews undertaken and whether or not the information was used in the research.

Individual Interviews Requested	1st Interview	2nd Interview	Transcripts Included in Research
BEST Co-ordinator	X-taped	X -taped	Yes
Attendance Officer	X-taped	X -taped	Yes
Youth Worker	X-taped	No (left area)	Yes
Young Peoples Worker	X-taped	X -taped	Yes
Primary Worker(left just prior to interviews)	X-sent in a written response	No	No
Support Worker	X-taped	X - taped	Yes
Student Social Worker	X-taped	X -taped	Yes
Lead Behaviour Professional	X-taped	X -taped	Yes
Inclusion Co-ordinator	X-taped	X -taped	Yes
Head of Year	X-written notes-didn't want to be taped	No	Yes
Form Tutor	X –taped	X-taped	Yes

Table 5.1 Overview of Interviews

In analysing the responses to interview questions, some staff appeared more confident in their roles and responsibilities, than others. Responses fell into two categories. The first category (Category A) e.g. those that were more confident, consisted of the lead behaviour professional, the inclusion coordinator, the form tutor, the head of year, the youth worker and the attendance officer. The phrase from Anning et al. (2006:72) '*professionals need to be confident enough in their professional identity*' applies to this category. All of the school staff (lead behaviour

professional, inclusion co-ordinator, form tutor and the head of year) were confident in their professional identity; in their roles and responsibilities, in spite of the wide range or 'umbrella' of responsibilities that they had acquired over the years. In their responses to interview questions, they were very quickly able to give their job title and the main focus of their work.

In keeping with Tett et al. (2001) this could be because each role carried with it a specific 'job description' which helped to identify not only the practices that staff engaged in but also provided clear boundaries for those practices. Secondary schools are very structured organisations and staff are very clear of the professional hierarchy, from the role of the support assistant right up to the role of the head teacher. There is also a clear understanding of the distribution of power and of responsibility within secondary schools. In response to questions, the head of year clearly stated '*any issue, which pertains to their child, any issue comes to the head of house first*'. In this secondary school, form tutors knew to approach the head of year (house) first before going to talk to parents.

The form tutor was also clear about their boundaries in asking for support

...obviously I will go to the relevant people, I will sit down and talk to my pupils and get the help that I know. I used to be a learning support assistant and I know different people within school deal with different situations.

Within secondary schools most staff do not have to deal with the differing models of practice or different versions of knowledge that can occur within a multi-agency setting (Rose, 2009). It is these differing models of practice and differing versions of knowledge that can occur within a multi-agency setting argue Rose (2009) which can lead to issues of who is in control of the situation.

The attendance officer, who was also part of this category, was very clear about his role '*going into schools and working with [named secondary school], identifying attendance issues and discussing concerns with members of my team*'. He was clear about his role because he had undertaken a similar position in another secondary school within the local authority and he had been engaged in the work for a number of years. The youth worker was clear about their role, which was to '*support young people, building that relationship with them, understanding the*

problems that they face....' They were also clear that their work was not just during the school day '*...looking at the holidays, what events are available so that we can support young people.....I like to see what else is on and support [young people]...'*

The members of this category were also in a position to be able to clearly 'label' themselves. The teaching staff clearly knew what their role was, it was primarily to teach. The educational welfare officer knew his role was to improve attendance. The youth worker knew her role was to work with young people. Their remit was clearly understood by themselves and other members of the team and the school. In line with Anning et al. (2006: 72) who argues '*identity is developed primarily in relation to how others perceive us*', they had developed an identity and a label which others clearly understood.

The second category (Category B), were less confident in their professional identity. This category consisted of the student social worker and the support assistant. The student social worker was hesitant in defining her role, limiting the explanation to just a few words '*... I am doing some self esteem work....at the moment I am just working with the children but I am taking part in the Triple P training*'.

The same could be said for the support worker. When asked about her role she commented '*it's very broad....that's my role and it is ever changing um its ever changing, it's more settled now that it has been but there is not one aspect that isn't very diverse*'.

In line with Anning et al. (2006) both the student and the support worker were unsure of their professional identity. The student had not yet spent enough time with members of her own profession e.g. social workers to fully grasp what is to 'be a social worker'. In her final year, she was in a placement which was not with other social workers and she was struggling with her own professional identity. This is in line with Rose (2009:8) who suggests that '*it may be easier for an established specialist who is confident in their expertise to reconceptualise themselves as a multi-agency worker, than for a newer professional still trying to understand their professional identity*'.

In contrast to this however is the view of Little et al. (2003) who found that often the key activities of social workers (face-to-face clinical work, care management and advocacy) can and are undertaken by a range of other professionals including health visitors, GP's and teachers. Interestingly those professionals working with the student social worker appeared to have a clear idea of what was expected of her in her role as a social worker. The inclusion co-ordinator was very clear when asked about the role of a social worker (previously there had been a fully qualified social worker attached to the team when it was first developed) and the role of the student social worker in school

we had someone to go to and present our facts and then work towards their experiences....that was better for us because we had someone to ask, are we wasting our time, is this the best route to go down....

The support worker was also unsure of her role ...it's *very broad....and it's ever changing um it's ever changing....* Not only was the support worker unsure of her role; she also found that staff in school were unsure of her role within the team,

....sometimes we [originally there were 2 support workers as part of the team, but 1 had left prior to the interviews taking place] could get drawn into doing things like dinner duties... I think it is kind of making a clear understanding of what our roles are...I think that this has had to be clarified...

The term 'support worker' is itself very broad and is often used as a catch all to describe the work done by a range of individuals working within a school. School staff were giving her jobs to do which she felt were not within her remit and the remit of her role had to be negotiated via the BEST co-ordinator with the school. This is in line with Rose (2009) who discusses this type of issue occurring as a result of the overlap in delivery with different professionals within multi-agency teams, which can at times lead to inappropriate tasks e.g. tasks not usually seen to be part of the roles and responsibilities of specific professions, being taken on by individuals.

Research (Tett et al., 2001; Geddes, 1997; Pearce and Hillman, 1998) supports the findings that understanding individual's roles and responsibilities is important in order for multi-agency working to succeed. The interplay between what individuals

perceive as their professional roles and responsibilities to be and what others perceive an individual's roles and responsibilities to be combine to help an individual form their professional identity. When roles and responsibilities are clearly defined and understood by everyone, professional identity appears to be understood by the individual member of the team as well as other team members. If either the individual or team members have a differing view of what role or responsibility has been taken on, than difficulties may occur.

During the initial interview several individuals (the youth worker from category A, who was confident in their role and responsibilities and the social worker from category B who was less confident in their role and responsibilities) referred to the 'ethos' of being a youth worker or the ethos of being a social worker. In order to expand further on the emerging concept of roles and responsibilities, the issue of ethos was explored further in this research in the second interview.

Deakin (2002) suggests that although the term 'ethos' is considered to be important in schools, it is one of the most vague and ill-defined words currently in use today. The Oxford Compact English Dictionary (1996:335) defines 'ethos' as *'the characteristic spirit or attitudes of a community, people or system'*. The use of a thesaurus suggests as an alternative to 'ethos' the term 'philosophy' with the words 'values or beliefs' as alternatives for philosophy. Individuals in schools are quick to identify practices that don't reflect the values or beliefs of their organisation often making judgements which are rooted in their own histories and feelings as well as in the rational merits of the policy or practice (Deakin, 2002).

Donnelly's (1999) research into 'ethos' in schools suggests that the literature into 'ethos' falls into two broad categories; the first category views 'ethos' as something that exists independently of an individual or organisation, where the second category views 'ethos' as something that is created by the group from which it emerges. Torrington and Weightman (1989) argue the view that 'ethos' is an objective phenomenon, which exists independently from the individuals within an organisation. The organisation can change its 'ethos' if and when it so chooses and in so doing the organisation has a certain amount of power to condition people to think and act in a certain way which in turn supports its 'ethos'. Alternatively Geertz (1975) argues that an organisation is the 'ethos' rather than having an

'ethos'. An 'ethos' emerges from the individual and/or the organisation; it is part of the social interaction of the organisation. It is a product of organisational interaction and will be produced and reproduced over time (Donnelly, 1999:2). *'People do not just passively absorb meanings and symbols; they produce and reproduce culture and in the process of reproducing it they may transform it...'* (Meek, 1988:464).

The data from the second interview revealed that everyone who was asked felt that professional ethos was important in defining their professional role. However defining exactly what that professional ethos was; was more difficult. Responses indicated that everyone felt that they had the interests of young people at the centre of their work but it was demonstrated in different ways. The data suggest that this is a lineal process, with an overlap of differing groups. Boundaries might to some extent become blurred, but they do remain. This is contradictory to the concept of seamless working in multi-agency settings (Leathard, 1994).

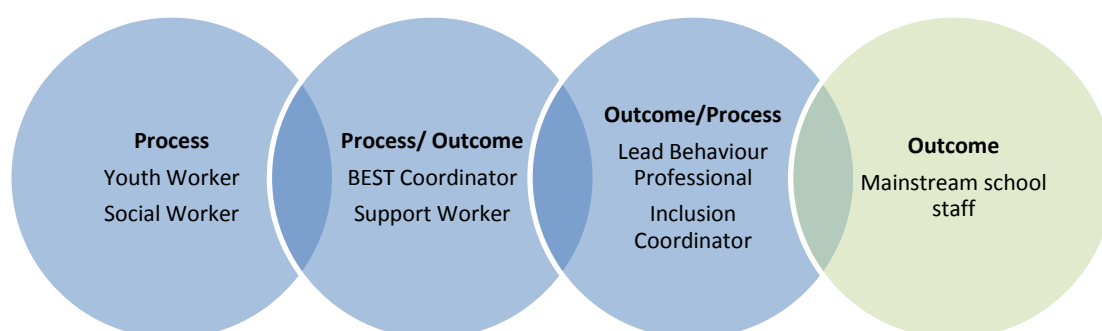


Diagram 5.1 Ethos and Professional Boundaries

Diagram 5.1 illustrates the findings from the research data, which suggests that in spite of differing 'ethos', professionals can be divided into three categories. The fourth category has been added by the researcher based on comments taken from the student social worker's interview on relationships with school staff. This was further supported from research from Rose (2009) which found that generally most school staff had little or no contact with professionals external to school.

The first category (Process) consists of the youth worker and the social worker. This category reflected what is defined here as the pastoral process of working with young people to address issues and move forward. A focus which includes the health, education (Roche & Tucker, 1997) and the wider welfare issues surrounding young people (Morris et al 2009). From a youth work perspective, the youth worker spoke of ethos as one of empowering young people, *'by empowering young people to think for themselves by providing opportunities, life skills to enable them to solve problems for themselves....'*

From a social work perspective the student spoke of seeing young people as individuals, with their lives dominated by a number of things, only one of which was education, *'I would hope that social workers treat children as individuals and realise that they have lots of other things on in their lives and a large part of their lives are spent at school...'*

When asked to further clarify her response, the student agreed that as a social worker she felt that she saw the situation more holistically, whereas she felt that most of the school staff tended to only look at things from an academic perspective. Both the response from the social worker and the youth worker suggests a broader approach to addressing potential issues with young people, recognising that young people have skills which can be used and built upon, while at the same time recognising that there are many factors that impact on their lives, only one of which is school. The subtle implication here was that at times school didn't look at the young people themselves, with their individual needs but rather concentrated more on getting the young people to meet certain educational outcomes.

The second category, labelled here as Process/Outcome appear to overlap each of the other two categories. This category consisted of the support worker and the BEST co-ordinator. These team members, who were not actively involved in teaching young people in a classroom setting spoke of 'ethos' in a wider perspective. The BEST co-ordinator spoke of *'...working with young people, getting their perspectives... encouraging young people to kind of look at issues that affect them...'* and the support worker spoke of a *'solution focused'* approach. They appeared to be torn between process and outcomes. Although their major

driver was process, their close links with school suggested that to some extent they were also directly influenced by the need to produce outcomes.

The third category, Outcomes/Process consists of the lead behaviour professional and the inclusion coordinator both of whom were also managers within the secondary school context as well as classroom teachers. From their perspective ethos was clearly linked to learning in school for life outside of school. Generally as professionals they appear to focus more on outcomes e.g. standards and results (GCSE, attendance, exclusions), however in their current roles pastoral issues were also of high concern. The lead behaviour professional spoke of ethos as '*helping children prepare for learning*' and the inclusion co-ordinator spoke of an 'ethos' of inclusion,

the way I look at it [she said], it is equal opportunities for every child and every child has a right to opportunities in school that are going to benefit them in later life so that they are ready for life after school.

Both of these individuals also had contact with a number of agencies outside of school which dealt with pastoral issues. In spite of working with other professionals however, there was a clear message that within school, their view, their 'ethos' took precedent. The lead behaviour professional spoke of trying to work with other agencies.'...*we have had people who have tried to work with schools before who are from such a different angle that it was hard to find a way to work together...*'.

This category was the reverse of Process/Outcome with their main driver the need to meet outcomes, but they were also aware of processes. The fourth category labelled here as Outcomes, refers to teachers or staff within the school who have had minimal dealing with other professionals, who spend most of their time teaching and less time dealing with the pastoral side of school life.

From the research data it doesn't appear that differing 'ethos' were enough of an issue within the team or school staff to impact on working together, although it does appear that a number of individuals acted as a bridge between differing services and the differing values and beliefs held by professionals. This bridge was supported in the close proximity of the various individuals to one another, co-locating BEST within the secondary school.

Research (Tett et al., 2001; Geddes, 1997; Pearce and Hillman, 1998) suggests that one of the issues that impacts on successful multi-agency working is location and team accommodation. One of the positives of being co-located within a secondary school, as opposed to located centrally within the local authority, in a children's centre or community centre was the ease of communication both with pupils, parents and between staff in schools and BEST. This ease of communication which was undertaken face to face as opposed to via email or phone, allowed for ease of information on individual pupils to be provided quickly and to be of good quality. Information flowed from school to BEST and from BEST to school on both a formal and informal basis. Co-location allowed staff to understand the differing ideologies and values, the differing aims and objectives, the differing organisational cultures and procedures identified by research (Tett et al., 2001; Geddes, 1997; Pearce and Hillman, 1998) as barriers to successful multi-agency working.

Co-location of BEST allowed for awareness raising on the part of BEST to school staff on their roles and responsibilities and also provided an opportunity for BEST to learn about the roles and responsibilities of staff in schools. The young people's worker felt that '*...it is a lot easier to share; I think things slip people's minds when you only come in once a week*'. She also felt that the amount of background information on pupils that was readily available from the school wouldn't have been available if they were located elsewhere. This information was beneficial in undertaking the work she did with young people,

...I think if we were based outside the school I think it would fall to senior management to bring us in and then I think we would reach much smaller number of children much smaller.....I think perhaps they become more aware of what support we provide for that pupil....and then perhaps that has made staff more aware of what we can provide...

The youth worker felt that the co-location of the team allowed them to communicate directly with pupils, offering support but also chasing up pupils if they didn't attend sessions,

...people can access at any time within reason...they can come whenever they want, we've got that interagency working right here...we can collect

them, which wouldn't happen if we weren't here...they are coming to one place that they know...

She also felt that co-location allowed for ease of communication with parents added to which the fact that parents didn't perceive the work that was undertaken in schools as a threat. This is in contrast to findings from Anning et al. (2006) who found that parents didn't feel that schools were the best place for multi-agency services, which they felt would be better-placed in health centres due to issues of confidentiality.

The head of year felt that co-location allowed for ease of communication with staff directly; it allowed for information to be shared between school staff and BEST'...*there is no difficulty in trying to catch them on the phone, you just walk down to the inclusion centre and catch somebody from BEST*'. The inclusion co-ordinator felt that the information shared was provided quickly as and when needed. '*...because it's the accessibility, it's here...*'.

Co-location did allowed for support to be more accessible both for staff in schools and pupils. Pupils were able to 'drop in' and chat with BEST informally as and when needed. The young people's worker said '

...they can come in first thing you will find them here at 8:15, 8:30 in the morning knocking on the door and I think that is great; we obviously couldn't do that if we were located elsewhere.

The student social worker felt that *school staff wouldn't have the degree of support from the team that they do* [if they were located off site]. Co-location allowed for ease of access, *...they [the pupils] are coming to one place where they know where they are...* this is particularly an issue with vulnerable young people, who find it difficult to access services in new locations. However, the student social worker also felt that at times young people took advantage of the co-location of the team '*... I think sometimes young people can abuse it... I think they wander around and see what is going on...*'.

The young people's worker felt that co-location allowed BEST to see a higher number of pupils, because more staff within the school knew about them and their

remit, they could ask for support from BEST and is wasn't just left to senior management to refer on to BEST. The head of year also felt that co-location of BEST made monitoring the progress of individual pupils easier *'if they [BEST] were not co-located they might not have the time'*. The inclusion co-ordinator liked the accessibility both of staff to support them when they needed it and the ease of obtaining advice when needed, *'...because there is always someone here from the team...sometimes I need the support there and then...'*

However this was contradicted slightly by other comments from the team who felt that at times school staff did not know what they did, merely labelled them under the title of a 'learning mentor' which was not their role in school. This might have been different if they had been based elsewhere. The support assistant commented *'...I think sometimes we could get drawn into doing various things...like dinner duty'*.

However, there were a number of concerns raised with respect to co-location. The BEST co-ordinator and the young people's worker felt that by being co-located within the secondary school, on occasion they were categorised or defined as being part of the school. As the school had had a somewhat 'negative' label attributed to it several years previously, sometimes BEST felt they were being judged by primary schools linked to the cluster before they had a chance to undertake any work in primary schools. The young people's worker commented that

I find that when you refer to it as the [school name] BEST team that you get some very strange brows and people latch on to the school and start talking about the school.....so it is easier to introduce yourself as the BEST team serving the cluster.

The BEST co-ordinator felt that the primary schools within the cluster categorised BEST as part of the secondary school and didn't see them as being a separate entity offering multi-agency support *'you know sometimes there was a perception that it was a service that the secondary team was offering rather that you know us as a multi-agency team located here'*. This is in line with Rose 2009, who found that one of the dangers of co-location was becoming a *'homogenous mass'* (Rose 2009:9) with no clear identity.

If individuals have a clear perception of their roles and responsibilities in a multi-agency team, they will also bring to multi-agency working a range of knowledge and skills to be shared within the team.

5.4 Knowledge and Skills and Professional Identity

The human mind is distributed among people, representations and their artefacts. Knowledge is not merely 'in the head' it is also 'in the world' and 'between people

(Puonti, 2004:44)

Part of an individual's identity is made up of their knowledge and skills in a range of areas, professional and personal, which they are expected to use and share in their day to day working environment. Each individual brings with them their own knowledge and skills set to their working environment. They also bring with them their histories and experiences to add to their knowledge base. Knowledge, skills, histories and experiences are all combined, therefore each multi-agency team, no matter how specific their remit will have a slightly different knowledge base, because it is made up of differing individuals. In thinking about the acquisition of knowledge and the development of skills, conventional models of learning stress the individual's private ownership of the knowledge and skills that they acquire (Anning et al., 2008). With the move towards professionals working closer together in a more 'joined up' manner, comes the recognition of the need to distribute knowledge and skills across a number of diverse individuals and groups working closely together.

As outlined in the context chapter, in the case of this BEST, their knowledge base would be different from any other multi-agency team or BEST within the local authority. In the first instance this is because the knowledge and skills base for their team was dictated by the needs of the community served by the team and second because the individual members who made up the team and their knowledge and skills sets would be different from that of any other BEST. While individual members belonged to this BEST, while they are together working alongside secondary school staff there is an opportunity for them to share with one another their different knowledge and skills. Working together also allows them to refine their own knowledge and skills base from the knowledge and skills of others.

When team members leave and new ones join, as had happened over the course of the previous years with the team, new knowledge and skills are continuously brought in and shared amongst team members. Anning et al. (2006) define this process as 'distributed knowledge' and places this concept at the heart of the new way of thinking about learning. Learning becomes a fluid process and ever changing. Individuals learn new things, members leave and new ones arrive, bringing new knowledge and skills into the team. Within a multi-agency setting, with many differing professionals working together, there is a need to share individual knowledge and skill sets across the team. Research undertaken by Anning et al. (2006) however found that individuals were often initially reluctant to elaborate in any great detail about their knowledge and skills and needed encouragement to talk positively about the knowledge and skills they possessed. Further research (Geddes, 1997; Pearce and Hillman, 1998; Tett et al., 2001) has shown that within multi-agency settings there is not just reluctance but often tension in the sharing and distribution of knowledge between professionals.

5.4.1 Acknowledging Individual Knowledge and Skills

Initial responses to the question regarding knowledge and skills fell into two categories; in Category A were those individuals who in answering the question referred to qualifications and training achieved, as well as the knowledge and skills learnt in the workplace and in Category B where those individuals who only responded with information on the skills and knowledge they had learned in the work place.

In his work Eraut (1999) distinguishes between these two types of knowledge; which he has labelled as C knowledge and P knowledge. He defines C or codified knowledge '*in terms of professional knowledge, codified and stored in publications, libraries and databases etc....and given foundation status by incorporation into examinations and qualifications*' (Eraut, 1999:3). He further clarifies degree level qualifications as propositional knowledge. He then goes on to define P or personal knowledge *in terms of the knowledge that people bring to practical situations that enables them to think and perform, knowledge that takes place on a day by day basis* (Eraut, 1999:3). This is similar to the work of Hoskin and Anderson-Gough (2004) who refer to 'qualification-focused learning (QFL) and 'work-based learning

(WBL). Hoskin and Anderson-Gough (2004) argue that there is a need to be successful in both types of learning.

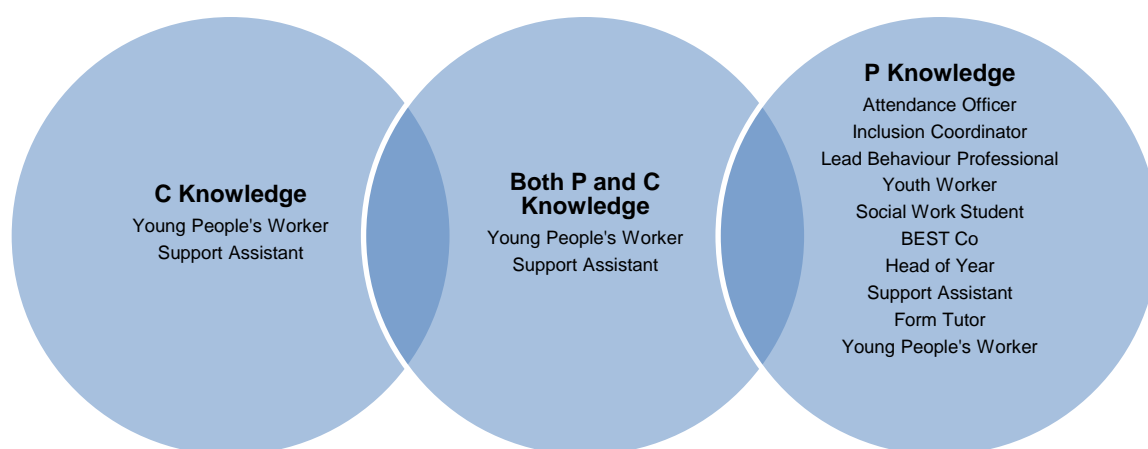


Diagram 5 .2 Codified and Personal Knowledge Categories

The individuals in the category that referred to qualifications and training (codified knowledge) as well as knowledge and skills (personal knowledge) consisted of the young people's worker and the support assistant. The young people's worker spoke about her degree qualification in psychology and within the degree, training in the areas of dyslexia, autism and child development. The support assistant spoke of her training '*from the educational side of it*'. However she was reluctant to define this knowledge until pressed, at which point she spoke about the Higher Level Teaching Assistant (HLTA) training that she had undertaken. The individuals in the category that referred to knowledge and skills acquired in the work place, or P knowledge, consisted of the attendance officer, the inclusion coordinator, the lead behaviour professional, the youth worker, the student social worker, the form tutor, the head of year and the BEST co-ordinator. The young people's worker and the support assistant were also in this category, because alongside their qualifications they spoke about the knowledge that they had gained in the work place.

Although varied, responses from this category could be placed broadly into five response types, those of knowledge; knowledge about relationships, management, communication, pupils and specific areas of knowledge e.g. policies and procedures.

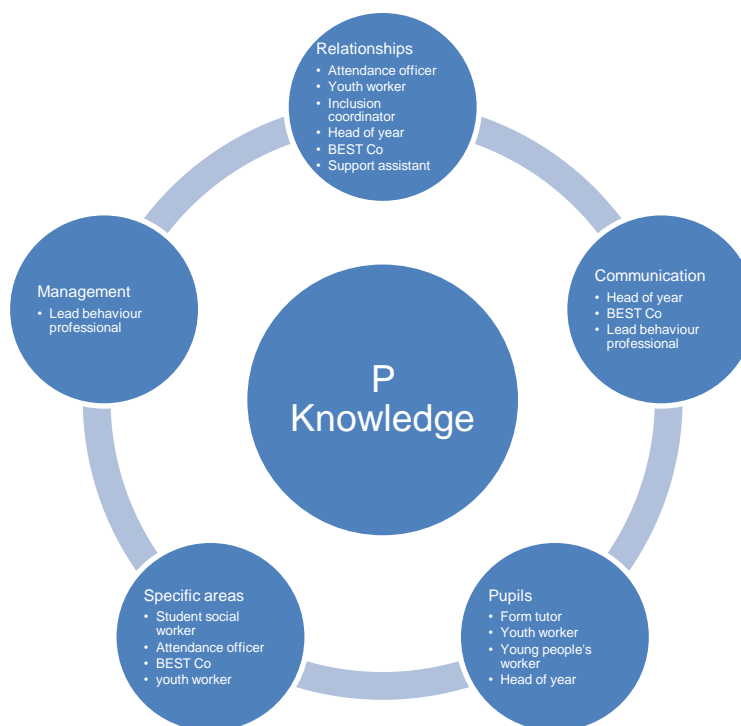


Diagram 5.3 Response Types (P Knowledge)

Diagram 5.3 shows the different response types and those team members who belonged to each response type. Comments from individuals to support each area are shown in Diagram 5.4 below.

Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • knowing how to gather the views • stand back and assess yourself • adapting • spotting needs
Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • working with families • working with schools • building relationships • empathy • working with others
Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ability to share good practice, gather the views of others • being a good communicator
Pupils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • working with young people, • good knowledge of pupils needs, pupils state of mind on any particular day • children's rights
Specific areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • children's rights, • social work practice, • government outcomes and targets, • the development of BEST • skills to deal with volatile and underachievers

Diagram 5.4 Response Types (P Knowledge) with Individual Comments

In analysing responses in the first round of interviews in relation to the acquisition of knowledge and skills the researcher decided to question whether or not members of the team had any formal qualifications, or whether or not they just felt more comfortable talking about P knowledge as opposed to C knowledge. During subsequent interviews, interviewees were asked specific questions about their training and qualifications. When prompted there was a wide range of professional qualifications among those interviewed. At this point the lead behaviour professional, BEST co-ordinator, support worker and youth worker were all able to refer to some type of formal training they had undertaken ranging from the Higher Level Teaching Assistant (HLTA) qualification recently developed to provide training for teaching assistants to teaching degrees, master's degree in education and the National Professional Qualification for Headteachers (NPQH).

In particular some members of BEST who had limited or no formal qualifications initially struggled more to answer the question than those such as teachers or the social work student who had degree level qualifications. During the interviews, the interviewer observed that some individuals felt that their qualification was worth less than others and they needed to justify their work based knowledge to make up for their lack of formal qualifications. This is in line with the support assistant who spoke about '*...the training I brought obviously from the educational side of it and just having children myself is just a big enough of a qualification because you can kind of relate to certain things...*'. This response was spoken in an almost apologetic manner. During the interview the interviewer felt that the support worker was trying to justify that her knowledge and skills were '*good enough*'.

Anning (2001) refers to this type of response as; the almost apologetic response of professionals who are perceived 'low status', professionals who when asked about their professional knowledge struggle to find anything of relevance to say. The only person who didn't appear to have any formal qualification of any sort was the attendance officer who commented on his '*knowledge of the area*' but admitted he had no recognised formal qualifications.

From the experiences of the researcher in asking the team and school staff about their knowledge and skills and the research data collected in the interviews, it appears that it was easier for individuals to talk about the knowledge gained in the

work place as opposed to professional qualifications. This is in keeping with the research of Anning et al. (2006) who found that when asked to talk about the knowledge and skills which practitioners bring to the workplace, they are more likely to refer to knowledge and skills acquired from their personal and professional experiences and less likely to refer to the theoretical underpinnings of their work or of the professional qualification they might have.

5.4.2 Sharing Knowledge and Skills

We are no longer working in individual professional silos and new ways of working mean new ways of thinking about how that work takes place (Anning et al, 2006). Anning et al. (2006) argue that multi-agency working demands a new way of thinking about knowledge. Conventional models which emphasis the individual and private ownership of knowledge and skills are no longer 'good enough'. Anning et al. (2006) talk about a new way of working, one of 'distributed knowledge', which places a greater, empathises on the attainment of individual learners. They suggest different ways of sharing knowledge; that is informal and formal meaning of sharing of knowledge. The data arising from the research suggest another domain namely, learning through 'team working' projects, to provide both a formal and informal element to professional work.

During the interviews there was a general discussion about working together within BEST, sharing knowledge and experiences, but little evidence of tensions or feelings that 'someone was doing their work or an unwillingness to share information with others'. This is in contrast to the work of Malin and Morrow (2007) who found professionals working with other professionals often found the environment 'threatening and intimidating' which had sometimes led to individuals not engaging in meetings or not prioritizing them. This formal sharing of knowledge was supported in minutes and during observations of the team meetings. It was also noted in the minutes of 4.11.07 (Appendix 3) that individuals were recognised for their achievements, 'congratulations to the youth worker on becoming an accredited Triple P practitioner'.

Within team meetings, when current cases were discussed there was a more formal sharing of knowledge, a structure of items being put on the agenda and

minutes taken, but a similar feeling of gaining information from one another. The support worker commented '*...everyone is quite comfortable with each other and quite often we seek one and others advice....*'

During observations of the team meetings the researcher observed open body language and there was a lot of laughter and casual discussion among the team members as the meeting was getting underway. This was in contrast to findings of Malin and Morrow (2007) who found that if the timings of meeting were wrong, there was little time for individuals to engage in informal/ personal discussions. Full participation from each member of the team was also observed during the two team meetings the interviewer sat in on. This was also supported verbally from team members during interviews. The attendance officer commented

...you get drawn in, it is not as if you sit there like a lemon and then someone thinks you know something and kind of pulls something out...there is a comfortable silence, you are not left out of the discussion but you might chose not to input because there is nothing about attendance...

The youth worker commented on the relationships within the team '*...within this team positive...positive, I think they are interested in different views....*'. The BEST co-ordinator spoke of team members feeling valued

...I think it is when team members recognise the value that they have within the team and the fact that hopefully communication within the team is such that they appreciate that you know there is going to be an open discussion and frank exchange of views without things being dismissed....

This need to have established relationships and the development of trust is identified as one of the major barriers to successful multi-agency work. Tett et al. (2001) talk about the time team members need to build up trust in one another. At the time of the interviews (apart from the student social worker on placement in the team) the newest member of the team had been in post for 14 months. During this time, individuals would have had time to build up the trust in each other, trust, which was required to establish the relationships needed both to share knowledge and not to feel threatened by the knowledge of others.

Team Meeting Observation (8.11.07)

The room which held the meeting was in the heart of the secondary school. The room was warm, small and basic with a small table and a number of chairs. Extra chairs needed to be brought in from another room because of my presence. Staff knew to bring along their own coffee (I was asked beforehand if I wanted one) and biscuits were provided by the BEST co-ordinator. There was a lot of laughter and informal discussions both professional and personal in nature prior to the meeting getting underway.

Five members of the team were present (BEST co-ordinator, attendance officer, youth worker, young people's worker and the youth worker), with apologies from the lead behaviour professional who was often in attendance. The student social worker wasn't in placement at that moment in time.

The meeting had a formal agenda, which was worked through in a systematic way.

During the meeting which lasted 1 hour and 20 minutes, eye contact was made between individuals who were asking or answering questions. People were smiling, individuals took turns in asking and answering questions, individuals were leaning on the table, leaning forward and appearing interested in the discussion.

Individuals would reflect back points made, asking for further clarification, with others affirming the information provided. At no point did it appear that anyone was worried about asking for further clarification, nor did it appear that the provider was upset about being asked.

This pattern of asking for and giving clarification occurred with various members of the team. There was no differentiation in response between when the BEST Co asked for clarification or the support worker.

The following comments from team members illustrates the need for time to develop confidence and skills and trust within the team, time, which has enabled

team members to build up relationships and trust which has in turn supported them in working together;

...I walked into this whole thing feeling around in the dark....and it has developed in such a way that I do now feel completely confident and knowledgeable in the area...

(support assistant)

...I wasn't sure what tools I could use to bring out the best in the child, so I asked somebody [in the team] and they gave me things that they'd used
(youth worker)

...I will quite often go to [youth worker] when I am working with a child... and seek her advice and support...

(young people's worker)

Even the student social worker commented that '*....the experiences and knowledge from other members has been invaluable for me...*' from the short time she was a member of the team. The support worker also commented that school taking on board some of the strategies she suggested gave her a confidence boost and made her feel more confident is giving advice *...ideas that I have had have been taken completely on board...*'.

The ability to attend training sessions was seen as another way of sharing formal knowledge and was found to support the sharing of knowledge and skills within the team. There was evidence of formal information sharing between team members; in the minutes of 17.5.07, it was reported that 'A booklet from the Team Teach course attended on the 15/5/07 is available in the magazine file'. The young people's worker recommended the course and described appropriate intervention and de-escalation techniques. In the minutes on the 9.7.07 there was feedback from the restorative justice training with BEST Co indicating that 'RJ training outlined useful enquiry process and procedures for restoring relationships-a book outlining the approach is in the magazine file' again signposting individual members of the team to further information about the techniques. In the minutes of 4.10.07, it was noted that 'the play matters course attended outlined some new games and ideas for after school clubs and the games pack that was provided at the course is now on the resources shelf and additional info can be found on the

website'. The support worker reported '*...I think enabling me to go on the courses I have done...*' as supporting the development of her knowledge and skills.

School staff had slightly different experiences of sharing knowledge and skills. School staff were not based with the team, spent less time with the team and had other areas of responsibilities outside of work within the team. Apart from the lead behaviour professional they didn't attend BEST team meetings, although individual members of BEST did attend school staff meetings. The form tutor felt the experience of sharing knowledge and skills with the team had been a positive experience '*... I am a good communicator, I like to listen as well as talk so I learn a lot from them and vice versa...*'. The form tutor had a unique view having previously worked in a school as a support assistant she brought both a teaching and non-teaching perspective to the discussion. She felt that this experience allowed her a good understanding of BEST and school experiences. However there was a slightly different view from the lead behaviour professional who replied

...challenging for me but I really mean the school, because I am representing the school....to accept other peoples expertise....and challenging for people who are not from inside, to work out how things operate within school....and challenging so that those people don't feel deskilled and they are operating in ways that they don't want and that they can still feel that they can still come in...

The comments from the lead behaviour professional are supported through research, which identifies the challenges in sharing information, identifying this failure to share professional knowledge and skills as a barrier to successful multi-agency working (Tett et al., 2001; Geddes, 1997; Pearce and Hillman, 1998). Generally school staff appeared not to feel they needed to share their knowledge and experiences with BEST, it almost appeared to be a formal one sided flow of information from BEST to school.

A bridge between school and BEST was the lead behaviour professional and to some extent the BEST co-ordinator. In relation to roles and responsibilities, the lead behaviour professional felt part of her role was to '*...encourage those people to adapt so they can work within the school... I am the go between...*'....*I am quite good at adapting school to allow these people to work in [the school]*. The BEST co-ordinator felt that '*I think that sometimes you just have to accept that you are*

coming from different perspectives and acknowledge that you are working within a particular system...I think that as long as you can have the discussion...’.

Informal sharing of knowledge is also an important part of knowledge sharing. With the team based together, this informal sharing of knowledge could take place in a number of ways. It could happen as part of social events; team night outs both together as BEST and as part of school events and as part of informal ‘chats’ which occurred between individuals when members of the team were ‘at home’ in the base. Observations of these informal chats occurred while the interviewer was waiting to conduct formal interviews with members of the team. This informal sharing of knowledge was supported during the formal interview with comments from the support assistant who said ‘...when we get together on an evening if one of us has an issue...I would sit down and ...bat that around a bit...’.

This informal sharing of knowledge has also been cited as supporting the sharing of information and skills within the team, with the youth worker commenting ‘...everybody coming back here... we have time to be able to meet and just to discuss what has happened in the day...’ and the young people’s worker view that ‘...everyone are quite comfortable with one another and quite often we seek one another’s advice...’. Staff also spoke of joint working as a way to sharing information, ‘...she brought the skills and knowledge that she had on her parts of group work and I brought the skills of working with young people and we wrote a programme together’ (youth worker).

This joint working allowed for information to be shared between individuals building upon a foundation of trust. Another way of joint working occurred between the BEST co-ordinator and the student social worker. On the back of the relationships that the BEST co-ordinator had established with other agencies, in this case Amber which was a preventative arm of the Youth Offending Team (YOT) the student social worker was able to build up confidence and develop a relationship with the individual agency, so that she was confident in working with them on her own.

...because [name] the BEST co-ordinator has links with agencies such as Amber that I now have but I didn’t necessarily have in the beginning though,

working with the BEST team through Amber or YOT or something like that I now feel that my relationships I've built up with those agencies you know I can now access them myself...

Both school and BEST staff spoke of support networks as benefiting the sharing of knowledge and skills. Since the development of the multi-agency team within a school was a relatively new experience, both the BEST co-ordinator and the lead behaviour professional spoke of the need to talk to other people who were going through the same types of experiences as they were. As the establishment of BEST within school was a new experience, both the lead behaviour professional and BEST co-ordinator needed to have these experiences acknowledged and this was accomplished through participation in a range of network meetings, where they could discuss their experiences with other people of similar professional background. *'...I think it has always been useful to have a reference point....shared experience...there is no one in school in exactly the same position as the LBP...'* was the response from the lead behaviour professional. While the BEST co-ordinator commented *'...and knowing how to go alongside each other's school systems and other systems...'* and *'that helped you think about you know areas that you could develop...'* Even the student social worker spoke of the need to meet with other students in a network group as a positive experience *'...you are able to talk to somebody who is in the same...like I said I am, a student and also they are on the same standing as I am...'*

5.4.3 Issues in sharing knowledge and skills

A number of issues were highlighted by school staff and BEST as hindering the use of knowledge and skills in relation to work undertaken with young people. These were; the lack of stability of the team due to short term funding, different policies and procedures between the team and the school and lack of clarity of roles of BEST within the school. As highlighted by Tett et al., 2001; Geddes, 1997; Pearce and Hillman, 1998, these issues can become real barriers to successful multi-agency practice but in this instance although they were commented on over time they didn't appear to cause a major problem to the sharing of knowledge and skills, or in fact the use of knowledge and skills with young people.

The issue of team stability e.g. staff turnover was highlighted as a cause for concern by the inclusion co-ordinator, but then it was suggested that this in fact might also be considered positive; in that it allowed the team to accommodate the changing needs of the school by reviewing needs when staff left, before replacing them. This however also had a knock on effect in school because when staff left with their expertise and knowledge, it left a void as the inclusion co-ordinator commented '*...but sometimes I feel that I could have done with a little bit more support....so you know there are swings and roundabouts...*'. It was also recognised as causing difficulties if school wanted support that wasn't there because staff had moved on '*...if they are looking for one particular type of support and that has been taken away then it is more difficult...*'.

Different policies and procedures between school and BEST meant that sometimes it was difficult to remove a young person for staff to work with. It was also felt that the systems that the team were linked into within the school hadn't allowed as much flexibility as it was felt was needed to undertake certain activities,

. *...procedures within the school to take children out and things, that has been a bit of an issue, I mean I know the whys and the wherefores and the boxes to tick...that's sort of hindered us, that's where things have been knocked back...*

(support assistant)

It is the systems that you are linked into that perhaps haven't allowed as much flexibility as would have liked, or sometimes it is just time constraints
(BEST co-ordinator)

Direct work with young people was also hindered, '*...some of the work that we can do has to be planned and so much notice given...*', although there was also the recognition and understanding that this was educational policy not school policy that was providing the constraints '*...that is quite a difficult process to go through but that is from education not from our school...*' (youth worker) so there was no direct blame associated with the experience towards the school. There seemed to be an understanding that these were the constraints that schools worked under as the youth worker commented '*...the team understands this, the school has more rules...*'.

The BEST co-ordinator did cite an example of difficulties both within the existing team and with a previous member of the team, the school nurse, commenting;

I think even coming from a similar kind of background people have different views on things ... but I think it is much more marked if you've got professionals from different agencies coming in because they have obviously got their own kind of practice guidelines ...I think that when people are used to working with particular systems then they tend to think in a particular way....I think as part of her practice she would make referrals on to social services as a matter of course, whereas within the team working within school there was an understanding that before any referrals were made to other agencies really that school was kept up to date and sometimes that didn't always happen...

Further discussion with the BEST co-ordinator regarding this incident indicated this was an issue over whether or not a child protection referral should have been made directly to social services or should have gone via the school. The issue appeared to be one of understanding between services as to when a referral should be made, when a particular threshold had been reached. This is in line with research from Lethbridge (1989: 3) Ball, (1997) and Soan (2006) who argue the importance language plays in multi-agency working. As an emerging theme from the interviews, a supplement question was asked regarding team members understanding of referral thresholds. This will be picked up later in this chapter.

The BEST co-ordinator also felt that co-location might have had an impact on how primary schools in the cluster viewed the team and the services they provided, that the team was not independent but rather just a part of the secondary school.

I don't know whether they've not made a distinction of the fact that we are a multi-agency team offering you know offering a support service and we are co-located within you know with the secondary schools...just that that sometimes there was a perception that it was a service that the secondary school was offering rather than you know us as a multi-agency team located here [in the secondary school].

There was also the issue of fully understanding roles and responsibilities, especially when you are relatively new to the team and this did initially create difficulties. This is illustrated by the comment made by the student social worker '...I think one of the difficulties is in not knowing exactly what my role is....I am

trying to slot in and it is quite difficult to make sure that I am not stepping on anybody's toes while I am here...' as she was still developing her identity as a social worker, it might be expected that she would find it difficult to work alongside other professionals without clearly defined professional boundaries.

This is supported by the work of Rose (2009) who discusses the difficulties faced by newer professionals. There is also a certain level of trust needed between team members in order to share knowledge. Time which she would not necessarily have had, to build up trust to the same level as that of other members of the team, who had been working together for several years at that point. This is further supported by the work of Nahapiet and Ghoshal who argue

where parties trust each other, they are more willing to engage in cooperative activity through which further trust may be generated' (1998:250) and

since it takes time to build trust, relationship stability and durability are key network features associated with high levels of trust. (1998: 257)

Co-location would allow for the development of trust and building of relationships; an area which research (Tett et al., 2001; Geddes, 1997; Pearce and Hillman, 1998 and Milbourne et al., 2003) identifies as a barrier to successful multi-agency working. Misztal in Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998:254) defines trust as *'the belief that the results of somebody's intended action will be appropriate from our point of view'*. Research data suggests that co-location allowed for the development of relationships and trust between BEST and pupils (both formally and informally) and pupils were able to see BEST in a non-threatening manner. This then allowed for easier access to support. The head of year referred to the co-location as *'enabling the development of trust'*, the physical location builds trust and allows for relationships to develop both formally and informally. Staff were also able to 'trust' in information and advice provided by BEST, in part because they were able to see the direct impact of BEST work with young people. The young people's worker felt that *'...they [the school] are probably more confident in the work that you are doing because they can see it going on around them.....and obviously they will also see some outcomes from it in their lesson...'*

To some extent co-location helped to 'demystify' the role of BEST workers, school staff were able to see what they did and see how they interacted with young people. The attendance officer felt that being co-located within a secondary school allowed him to work into the school but also slightly apart from school, which allowed him to '*...point things out to try and change things which I might have felt would be a bit more difficult if I had been part of the school...*'. The research (Wilson and Pirrie 2006; Soan, 2006; Lloyd et al., 2001; Pettit, 2003) suggests that co-location has in this instance supported multi-agency work. As set out in the literature review, research has also suggested that language has also played a part in multi-agency working.

5.5 Terminology and Professional Identity

...language has a direct and important function in social relations, for it is the means by which people discuss and exchange information, ask questions and conduct business in society...

(Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998:253)

Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) argue that there are several ways in which a shared language has influence. First, language influences our perceptions by filtering out our awareness of events for which there are no words, while at the same time filtering in events for which we do have language. Tisdall (2004) argues further that language shapes our understanding and impacts on how we 'do' working together. Second, Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998: 253)) argue that the ability of people to share a common language '*facilitates their ability to gain access to people and their information*'; similarly, when language is different it '*keeps people apart and restricts their access*'. Soan (2006) argues that different language can mean different things to different people depending on their perspective. This lack of clarity on what is meant can lead to an uncertainty of provision and a diminishing of impact on the very people the provision is meant to support. Two issues regarding language were identified from the research, both of which deal with agreed meanings.

The first issue was part of the original interview schedule. What do we mean when we talk about 'multi-agency' working? Using a ground theory approach, the second

issue was as a result of a point raised during the first interview and followed up in the second interview; does service use of specific terminology hinder multi-agency working?

5.5.1 The Meaning of Multi-agency Working

In a paper to BERA in 2007, the question was raised 'Has the issue of language created barriers to the development of the BEST?' As discussed in the literature review, the work of Soan (2006), Lloyd et al. (2001), Malin and Morrow (2007), Pettit (2003) and Wilson and Pirrie (2000), illustrated the issues which arise when trying to use different words to define 'joined up' working. The literature review revealed definition to be problematic. In the methodology chapter the researcher outlined the main question and the use of several prompts to tease out further clarification on meaning. We now come back to the 'meaning of multi-agency' for further discussion.

When asked this question the responses of those interviewed fell into two categories. The first category, which consisted of the youth worker, the young people's worker and the student social worker, talked about 'different' agencies, backgrounds, and professions, which 'came together' to provide a service, make a team, work as a team. Some members elaborated further talking about a '*common purpose*', the young people's worker spoke about a '*service that is more accessible*' and the student social worker spoke about '*different agencies with different perspectives*'. There is no reference to the number of services involved in this definition.

This is in line with the work of Pettit (2003) who suggests the term 'multi-agency' hints at both an alignment of services (coming together) and a blurring of professional boundaries (for a common purpose) in the agencies that are involved. It also aligns itself with the work of Wilson and Pirrie (2000), when they refer to the territorial dimension of defining terminology and the idea of crossing over into the professional territory belonging to someone else. This category didn't consist of any members of the school's teaching staff, however two members of this category, the youth worker and student social worker's responses to defining 'ethos' suggested a broader approach to addressing needs in young people; a process driven approach as opposed to an outcome approach.

The second category consisting of the BEST co-ordinator, attendance officer, support worker, lead behaviour professional, the inclusion co-ordinator, the form tutor and head of year defined the term 'multi-agency' in numerical terms using phrases such as *more than two or three agencies* (BEST co-ordinator) and *a gathering of more than one agency together* (attendance officer), *representatives from all services involved with young people* (lead behaviour professional) and *lots of people working together, lots of teams working together* (form tutor). Some responses indicated an idea of quantity e.g. more than two or three, while others were more vague referring to '*lots*', which is defined in the dictionary as '*great numbers or quantities*' (Collins, 2006).

These responses are supported by the work of Wilson and Pirrie (2000) who refer to this as the numerical dimension to defining terminology. All of the teaching staff belonged to this category, as did a number of BEST. All appeared to have more of an outcome driven approach (as defined earlier within the discussion around 'ethos'), however there were differences. The BEST co-ordinator and support worker were defined as process/outcome driven and the lead behaviour professional and the inclusion coordinator were defined as outcome/process driven.

Two members of this category added further to the numerical dimension referring to *different personal from a number of specific areas* (inclusion co-ordinator) and *lots of different people covering lots of different areas* (form tutor). It appears as if these definitions have brought together the numerical and territorial dimensions of Wilson and Pirrie (2000). Both responses came from members of the teaching staff. What is interesting is that the inclusion co-ordinator was outcome/process driven in response to the discussion around 'ethos'. The form tutor didn't respond to the 'ethos' question.

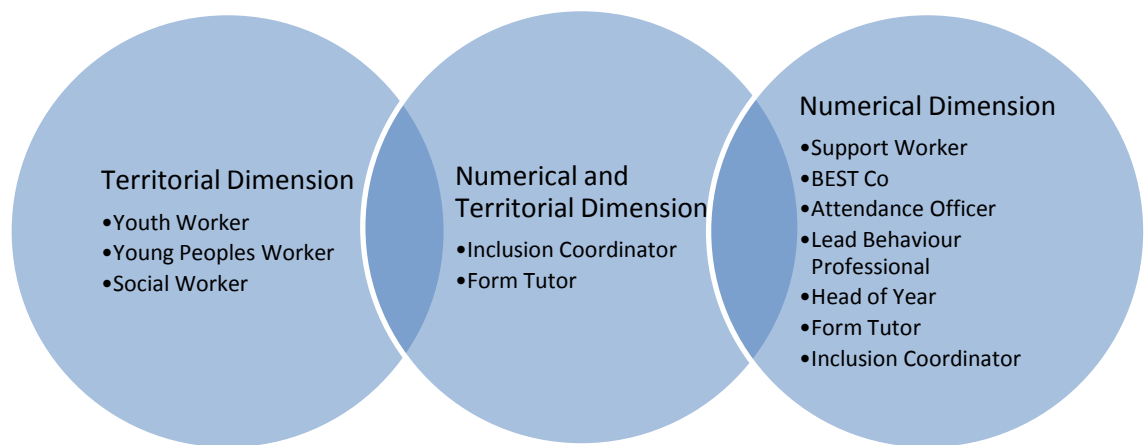


Diagram 5.5 Dimensions of Terminology

Taking into consideration Tisdall's (2004) point; that our understanding of certain words and phrases will have an impact on how we work and trying to tease out further interpretations and clarity of meaning, interviewees were then asked several follow-up questions or prompts (the reason for this was discussed previously in the methodology chapter) The questions/prompts were

- a. *Do you think the terms 'multi-agency' and 'inter-agency' are the same?*
- b. *What is the difference between partnership and collaboration?*

Responses to the first supplementary question/prompt (a) can be divided into three categories. The first category consisting of the youth worker, the student social worker and the form tutor used location to differentiate between the terms 'multi' and 'inter' with 'multi' referring to services which were based apart from one another [but worked together] and 'inter' referring to services which were 'working together, based in the same place'. This is in line with the work of Pirrie et al. (1998) who argue that 'inter-disciplinary' can also infer a crossing of boundaries into the territory of another agency, their professional space, territory here referring to physical space not professional space. However in their work Malin and Morrow (2007) argued that 'inter-disciplinary' work is where professionals may share information and develop care programmes together but the work is actually undertaken by separate professionals.

The second category consisting of the young people's worker, the BEST co-ordinator, the attendance officer and the head of year all used service backgrounds as a basis for their definition e.g. '*multi*' referred to services with a different backgrounds working together, while '*inter*' referred to services with similar backgrounds working together. What is interesting is that BEST was used as an example of both '*multi*' and '*inter*' agency working, because one person felt that the team all had differing backgrounds while another felt the team had similar backgrounds.

The third category consisting of the lead behaviour professional, the inclusion co-ordinator and the form tutor used numerical references e.g. '*inter*' referred to 'some', while '*multi*' referred to 'all' or 'more'.

Territorial	Service Backgrounds	Numerical
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth Worker • Student Social Worker • Form Tutor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young Peoples Worker • BEST Co • Head of Year • Attendance Officer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lead Behaviour Professional • Inclusion Coordinator • Form Tutor

Diagram 5.6 Analysis of the Use of Terminology

If you compare the responses from the first questions and the responses from the first supplementary question you find that those that responded in the first question using a numerical dimension also used the same reference point for the second question e.g. the lead behaviour professional, the form tutor and the inclusion co-ordinator. The same applies to some extent to the use of the territorial dimension, in that the youth worker who used a territorial dimension in the first question again used this as a reference point for the second question. Similarly one of the respondents who used both a numerical and territorial dimension in the first question, the form tutor, used both as a basis for answering the second question.

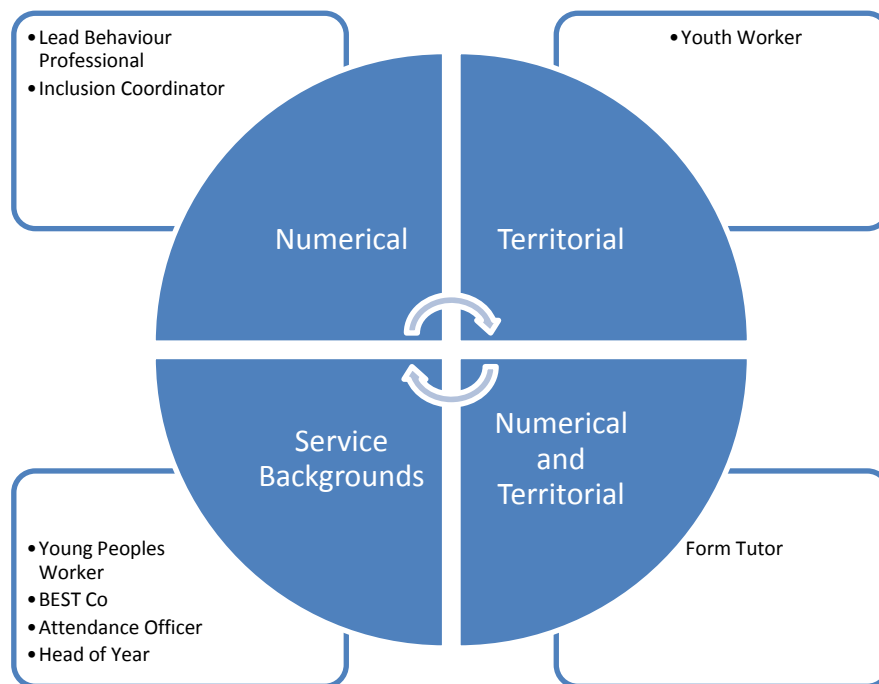


Diagram 5.7 Comparison of Responses-First Supplementary Question

Responses to the second supplementary question/prompt (b) fell into three categories.

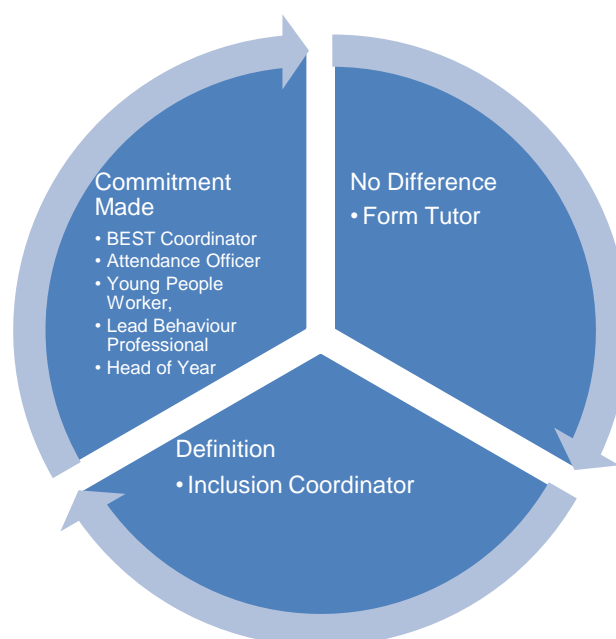


Diagram 5.8 Comparison of Responses-Second Supplementary Question

The first category consisting of the form tutor felt that there was no difference between the two words, they could be used interchangeably. She was the newly

qualified teacher, although she did have a history of working within a school environment as a teaching assistant prior to becoming a teacher.

The second category consisted of the inclusion co-ordinator who used the terms '*wider*' and '*narrower*' to differentiate between the two with '*partnership*' being defined as '*wider than collaboration-partnership comes from a wide variety of areas*' and the definition of '*collaboration*' being '*narrower expertise than partnership*'.

The third category consisting of the BEST co-ordinator, the attendance officer, the young people's worker, the lead behaviour professional and the head of year referred to the differences between '*partnership*' and '*collaboration*' in terms of some level of commitment made. This is illustrated in the diagramme below, showing the progression from collaboration to partnership working. The young people's worker felt that '*partnership*' implied an '*equal contribution*', while the BEST co-ordinator referred to '*joint responsibilities*' and the attendance officer referred to partnership as being more detailed and longer term. The head of year felt that the term '*partnership*' was '*doing the best for a positive outcome*' and the lead behaviour professional referred to '*partnership*' as having '*shared goals.... working towards being shared work*' and '*collaboration*' defined as '*could be working together*'.

Collaboration tended to be considered to be 'less formal' and defined by a beginning and end point. The student social worker felt that collaboration could be defined as '*working with other professionals and services users rather than working for them*'. The head of year felt that the term '*collaboration*' implied that there '*might not be a positive outcome*'. The head of year was placing a value judgement on the terms; in line with the work of Soan (2006) who argues that multi-agency terminology is often process related making reference to an end result in the process.

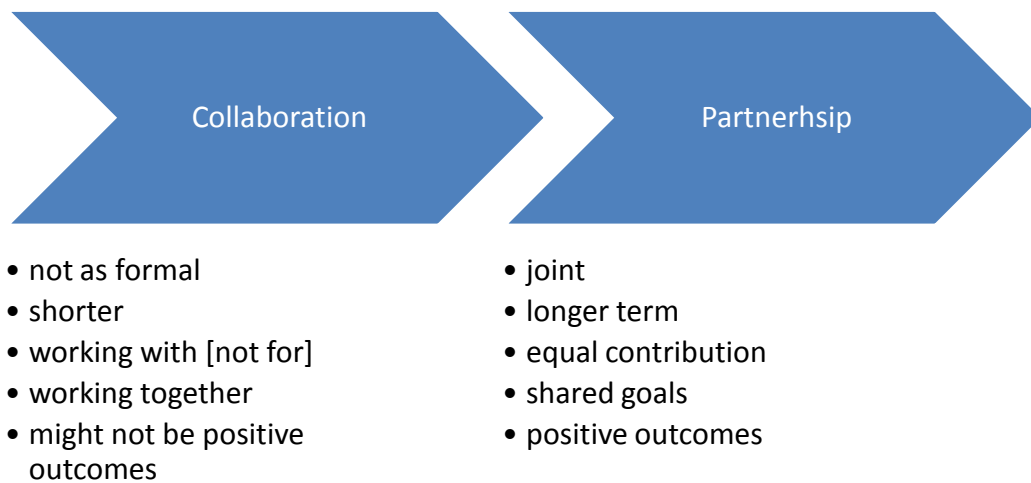


Diagram 5.9 Progression from Collaboration to Partnership Working

Although everyone seemed to have a slightly different view of the differences between the two terms, apart from one person, the form tutor, who saw them as interchangeable, overall there tended to be a view that ‘*collaboration*’ was less formal, for a shorter period of time and not necessarily having a positive outcome. The term ‘*partnership*’ on the other hand, tended to imply ‘*equality*’, and a ‘*sharing of goals and responsibilities*’.

During the interviews a number of interviewees expressed confusion over the specific questions regarding similar terminology. This would suggest that initially those interviewed felt the terms could be used interchangeably. But when asked to think and consider different possibilities and combinations of words, most people were able to define and defend their choice of terms. Hence the young people’s worker who defined ‘*multi-agency*’ as ‘*...a group of professionals from different backgrounds coming together to work as a team to provide a service that is more accessible...*’ was able to differentiate between ‘*multi-agency*’ and ‘*inter-agency*’ arguing that ‘*...multi-agency*’ [members were] *all from different services and backgrounds*’ and ‘*inter-agency*’ were ‘*all members have a similar background experience*’.

However on closer examination there is lack of clarity in certain meanings. A number of those interviewed described BEST as being ‘*multi-agency*’, using as part of their definition ‘*...different agencies working together probably with different perspectives...*’ (student social worker) and ‘*...a gathering of more than one*

agency' (attendance officer) and *'...BEST is multi-agency because they have different jobs to do'* (form tutor), while others referred to BEST as being *'inter-agency'* because *'...all members have a similar background experiences [BEST]'* (young people's worker).

The detail is in defining what we mean by *'agencies'* and *'services'*. Some of those interviewed have defined a service in narrow terms; depending on the job they do; therefore a teacher belongs to a different service from a teaching assistant and learning mentor because they all have very different roles and responsibilities, Using this definition when a teacher, learning mentor and support assistant work together they are part of a multi-agency team. Others (lead behaviour professional, support worker) have described *'multi-agency'* as having people who come from discrete services e.g. education, health, and social services. Using this definition a teacher, learning mentor and teaching assistant would all belong to the same service e.g. education and would therefore not be part of a *'multi-agency'* team.

The issue is defining the boundaries between *services*; with some people using a narrow definition to define a service and others using a broader definition. There is also an element of who is deciding where services belong, e.g. the lead behaviour professional viewed the educational welfare service as belonging outside of educational services whereas the attendance officer felt that the educational welfare service was part of educational services. Some individuals defined themselves as belonging within a broad educational framework, resulting in several broad service categories e.g. education, health, social services, while others, using a narrower definition defined each person according to their professional role, resulting in many different agencies e.g. teachers, learning mentors, youth workers, which under the previous categorisation would have all belonged to one service e.g. education. This is complicated even further in that this broad definition was also used by those interviewed to define inter-agency *'...because all members have a similar background experience....'*(young people's worker).

In asking if the terms *'multi-agency'* and *'multi-professional'* and *'partnership'* and *'collaboration'* were the same it was the two individuals; the form tutor and the

student social worker, who had the least amount of experience working across services who felt the terms were interchangeable. This could be due to their limited perspective of working across a number of services. Soan (2006) argues that language can mean different things to different people depending on their perspective. The less experience you have working across services, the less knowledge you have of the finer points and differences of service delivery, the less likely you are to differentiate between meanings.

In spite of individuals having different views on the meanings of words to describe 'joined up' working, research data hasn't suggested that an individual's understanding of terminology has had an effect on individuals' ability to work together in the context of a multi-agency team. This is in line with Leathard (1979: 6) view that '*...what everyone is really talking about is simply learning together and working together*'.

However there is also the issue of different services using terminology in relation to working with clients. Part of the research was to understand if there were any language barriers in working with individuals from other services.

5.5.2 The Impact of Terminology on Multi-agency Working

Ball (1997) argues that in order for multi-agency working to be successful, everyone needs to be clear about the tasks they are undertaking. This can be difficult when individual professions each have a different professional language to discuss targets, differing expectations and outcomes. Lethbridge (1989:3) suggests that '*...different terminology and the use of jargon can make working together more difficult*'.

Soan (2006) also discussed issues which can occur in the use of language between professionals, arguing that different language can mean different things to different people depending on their perspective. In order to further tease out issues around language, two supplementary questions were asked during the second interview in relation to the use of language;

c. Have there been times when you have used particular language, when you have felt that you have been misunderstood within the team or within the school?

d. Have you ever had an issue that is a cause for concern for you but other people haven't felt concerned?

In response to the question *'have there been times when you have used particular language, when you have felt that you have been misunderstood within the team or within the school'*, the attendance officer, BEST co-ordinator, youth worker and the support worker could not remember a time when this had occurred. This might mean that incidents had never occurred, or it could mean that a common understanding had developed within the team in the use of language. The youth worker commented *'...I think that when you explain things to other people...bits and terms...we don't use much jargon that often...'* to refer to why misunderstanding in the use of language wasn't a particular issue within the team.

In effect the team had gone through a period of 'negotiation' of the meanings of the terms and phrases used and had limited the use of 'jargon' to ensure that everyone had a better chance of understanding what was meant by certain words and phrases. This is in contrast to Anning et al. (2006) research which found that in one of the teams, team members were excluding others from decision making via the use of professional jargon.

The BEST co-ordinator did talk about an incident early on in the development of the team when there were issues regarding the use of the term 'at risk'. At that time, school felt that the term suggested a higher level of need e.g. similar to that needed to instigate a child protection referral to social services. In fact the term was meant to refer to an early indication that a child could possibly be vulnerable given their existing circumstances. The comment was made by general school staff in respect to *'...the associations that people would sometime make with a particular phase'* i.e. 'at risk' and the meaning that was attached to it. The 'currency' the phrase had when used by members of the social work profession was different from that used by members of the educational profession. It appears that early on, when the team was in the initial stages of formation, with a differing make up of professionals including members of health (school nurse) social

services (social worker) and mental health (mental health worker) that the misunderstanding of terms between differing professionals had become an issue. In this case the term 'at risk' was changed to 'vulnerable' because the school felt it better represented their understanding of the threshold it implied. In this instance the team had 'control' over the use of the phrase and was able to change it to accommodate the needs of the educational community.

In the response to the question *have you ever had an issue that is a cause for concern for you but other people hasn't felt concerned*, most felt there had been times when there had been threshold issues, when this had occurred. Threshold here is defined as, *'a point where there has been a cause for concern about a young person'*. However the differences were not between individuals within the team but rather with the team and those agencies that sat outside the team. There were threshold issues between services attached to BEST and their professional agencies.

The educational welfare officer said *'...sometimes it is about trying to change someone else's perspective and trying to get them on board'* with reference to his professional body, the educational welfare service as a whole. He felt that there was an overlap of service that he provided within the team and the services provided by the educational welfare service as part of the local authority, with boundaries and thresholds between BEST and the educational welfare service not clearly defined. This at times made it difficult when he felt the need to refer issues back into his professional body, because they were beyond his ability within the team to address. The view from the attendance officer was

quite clearly we have a duplication there of what we are doing but I try everything I can within the school to bring a change and improve attendance and sometimes I feel as though things are not getting any worse but they are not getting any better and therefore it is trying to persuade educational welfare..... to take that referral on...

This is supported by the work of Rose (2009) who highlighted the issue of the appropriateness of tasks undertaken by individuals and the concern felt by services that the work that they were engaged in overlapped. Rose (2009) was referring here to individuals within a single team, however it appears this can also

apply to the relationship between individuals in a multi-agency team and their professional body. The control that the members of the team had in understanding and sharing meanings of thresholds didn't extend back to the professional agencies.

Similarly there were also issues of referral thresholds between the secondary school and other agencies. As discussed earlier there had been an incident with the school nurse and the BEST co-ordinator when the team had been in its infancy, regarding a misunderstanding of systems within the school and team in relation to a referral to social services. More recently however there had been a discussion regarding issues between school and social services. In this particular situation described by the inclusion co-ordinator, the school wanted to refer to social services but they [social services] felt the referral didn't meet their threshold. The inclusion co-ordinator commented

...it is as if all of the experience we have in school and all of the knowledge counts for nothing, they [social services] will go and visit, a ten minute visit and they will decide everything is alright and they are going to close the case.

Exploring this perception further the interviewer asked '*...several years ago you had a social worker attached to your BEST (yes), did you find the situation better when you had someone from that profession in school?*' The response was '*... that was better obviously because we had someone to go to, to present our facts and then work towards their experiences and the best thing for us.....is this the best route to go down*'.

This would be in keeping with research which identifies one of the barriers to successful multi-agency working is differencing aims and outcomes of the differing individual professions (Tett et al., 2001; Geddes, 1997; Pearce and Hillman, 1998). In this instance the school felt the need to be in control of the differing aims and outcomes of the situation to ensure they were managed within a school context. The difficulty arose when professionals had differing views as to the threshold at which point other agency involvement occurred.

There were issues between school and professionals who wanted to become involved with young people, with the lead behaviour professional feeling that they needed to act as a 'gatekeeper' to other professionals wanting to work in schools, in order to ensure that schools were not 'over run' with different professionals wanting to 'help.'. The lead behaviour professional commented '*...undoubtedly yes...where professionals have wanted to become involved and I have said hang on a minute there may be other professionals involved..*'.

The BEST co-ordinator felt that there were issues between BEST and schools saying there *... has been some cause for different interpretations* in reference to when to involve BEST staff in work with children and young people. Further explanation suggested a lack of clarity of the term '*early intervention*' with schools feeling they needed to use all of their standard systems and strategies before referring to BEST and BEST feeling that it might have been more useful if they had been involved at an earlier stage, when issues were not so far developed. In both of these situations it appears that schools have been reluctant to bring professional services into schools to engage in work with young people. However this may not be down to a difference in meaning or understanding of need as much as in the need to maintain some type of control in the situation or 'gate keeping' to ensure that services don't just work in a haphazard manner. Rose argues that '*...control dilemmas arise when professionals have to deal with contradictory models of practice and differing versions of knowledge in decision making*' (Rose, 2009:3).

This misunderstanding of roles and responsibilities and clear definition of boundaries is one of the identified barriers to 'joined up' working. However there were also benefits to initial misunderstandings. The youth worker commented that there were times when issues which arose in the use of differing language, had had a positive outcome, clarifying the usage of certain words, '*...I think they help you, they ask you clarifying questions to help you think if something needs to be done*'...going on to say *...we would probably decide as a team...*' in response to how issues of lack of clarity were addressed. This working of the team together to further understand the meaning of words, this negotiation of meaning provides for a shared ownership of the process.

The impact co-location has had on individuals use of terminology is unclear. One member of the team, the young people's worker felt that terminology did impact on the team's ability to gain entry into other schools. She felt that the name of the school had a negative connotation with some of the primary schools and parents that they worked with. So instead of saying that they were part of [school cluster team] if they just said they were part of BEST it allowed them easier access to working with their clients

...it seems about 5 years ago [school name] didn't have the best reputation, it is obvious that it is doing its best to come back, but I do find that when you refer to the [school name cluster] BEST team that you get some very strange brows, and people latch on to the school and start talking about the school.....so I do find it easier to introduce yourself as the BEST team...

Research (Soan, 2006; Ball1997) has shown the complex interplay between what is said and what is understood, with different language meaning different things to different people depending on their perspectives. Co-location within the secondary school could have allowed for better communication between BEST and secondary school staff, which in turn would allow for a common language to develop between the team and selected school staff.

5.6 Conclusion

*An identity then is a layering of events of participation and reification by which our experiences and its social interpretation inform each other
(Wenger, 1998:151)*

Throughout this chapter, the research has explored the findings provided from the data collected through content analysis, observations and interviews. In doing so, the research has looked at the how individual team members and selected school staff perceived their roles and responsibilities in the team and in relation to one another. The research has also looked at how individuals have viewed the knowledge and skills they have as well as their perceptions of sharing their knowledge and skills with others within the team and in the secondary school within which the team was co-located. Finally the research has looked at the use of language in relation to individual's understanding of the terms used to define 'joined up' working and the impact this might have had on the team's ability to

work together. Running throughout the findings is the relationship the team has had with the school and hence the impact, if any co-location has had. All of the issues discussed it can be argued begin to make up our professional identity.

We, both as individuals and as professionals are influenced by the world in which we live. That which we are, the individual, has been created through the influences and interactions we have with those around us. Throughout our lives we belong to a variety of communities argues Wenger (1998); identified as families, schools, sports teams, social groups, professional groups and many, many more. These communities, which Wenger (1998) has termed 'communities of practice' have an influence on 'that which we are'. Our professional identities, one of Wenger's (1998) four main organizing concepts, are changed by the interactions we encounter in the workplace. Wenger highlights the importance of how professionals develop their professional identities, that is through interaction with the group of people they work with (the team) as well as with their own profession.

Even our most private thoughts make use of concepts, images and perspectives that we that we understand through participation in social communities (Wenger, 1998:146). As the team is developed, it grows to have shared histories of learning, social relationships and working practices. Anning (2001) argues that knowledge is produced within these 'communities of practice' in the context of practice; that is some knowledge is brought in through knowledge and skills in the form of training and some knowledge is based on the daily routines of work. Wenger (1998) highlights within this process, the need for mutual engagement (co-participation), joint enterprise (shared accountability) and shared repertoire (common discourses and concepts). Anning et al. (2006) argues that Wenger's primary concern is the social influence of communities of practice on identity transformation. Wenger (1998:56) writes '*...participation involves creating an identity of participation; identity is constituted through relations of participations...*'.

Using Wenger's 'communities of practice' concept, it could be argued that in co-locating a multi-agency team within a secondary school, one community of practice (BEST) has been placed within another community of practice (secondary school). As professionals, some members of BEST would also belong to other professional communities of practice e.g. attendance officer would also belong to

the educational welfare service community, the social work student would belong to the community of students, the learning mentor would belong to the community of learning mentors etc. This membership Wenger (1998) argues translates into an identity as a form of competence. Therefore, the interactions between individual members of the team and between members of the team and school can play a part in helping individuals define who they are in relation to their professional identity.

The next chapter explores Wenger's concepts in more depth using the theoretical framework of 'communities of practice' to further explore the findings of this research.

Chapter 6

Identity and ‘Communities of Practice’

Introduction 6.1

In this chapter the research engages in depth with Wenger’s (1998) notion of ‘communities of practice’; a framework which centres upon people and their relationships (Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2003). In order to fully engage with the discussion, this chapter will begin with an introduction and a critique of ‘communities of practice’ Then, using Wenger’s ‘communities of practice’ and his concept of ‘identity’ the chapter will explore the emerging theme of professional identity and how BEST and selected school staff negotiate ‘the experience of self’ [identity] in relation to roles and responsibilities, knowledge and skills and terminology in a multi-agency setting.

6.2 Communities of Practice

6.2.1 Theories of Learning

People have been trying to understand the process of learning for centuries. Currently there are a number of different theories about learning and how we learn. Wenger (1998) would argue that the different theories of learning do not need to be seen as mutually exclusive from one another but can interweave and interlink with one another. Each learning theory, he argues, can be seen as reflecting a different focus towards the multidimensional problem of learning. There are neurophysiological theories which focus on the biological mechanisms of learning; there are psychological approaches to learning which can focus on either the behavioural, cognitive, constructive or social learning theory of learning. Still other theories move away from a purely psychological approach to learning developing along a slightly different pathway which includes activity theories, socialization theories and organizational theories. Added to this has been the development of social learning theory, focusing on learning as social participation.

Erickson and Smith (1991) suggested that human performance arose largely as a product of the clever manipulation by individuals of their cognitive structures;

learning then was perceived within cognitive systems. Traditional theories of learning have tended to focus on behaviour and how changes in behaviour can be brought about through the formula of stimulus response or on the mind and the ways in which learning results in changed mental states (Fuller, 2007). The teacher taught or gave knowledge to the student and the student acquired the knowledge. Learning took place as a result of teaching. There was a beginning, middle and end to learning and for the most part it was undertaken on an individual basis, separated from other activities that as individuals we engage in. Then we use some form of testing to measure how much an individual has learned, often asking for this knowledge to be demonstrated out of context (Wenger, 1998).

In 1991, Lave and Wenger published Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation. The publication was their contribution to the growing interest in the field of theorising the meaning and processes of learning as part of social activity and the development of an model of learning in which social practices and situational factors played a part in an individual's cognition and learning (Fuller et al., 2005; Billett, 2007).

Lave and Wenger (1991) looked at the concept of learning as a process in which the learner was an active participant in the event. From an anthropological perspective, Lave and Wenger (1991) proposed a triad model of group relations and interactions within which learning was allowed to take place. In this model learning is a fundamentally social phenomenon (Wenger 1998). This model differed greatly from the previous dyadic model of learning of teacher and student. The shift in the work of Lave and Wenger argues Fuller (2007) was away from a passive model in which learning happened as acquisition to an active model in which learning happened as participation (Fuller, 2007).

Working in the field of anthropology, their research looked at the relationships between individual members of particular groups in relation to craft apprenticeships. They identified members of the group as masters (old timers), young masters (journeymen) and apprentices (newcomers). They argued for the importance of the relationships between all of the individual members of the group. Newcomers needed to learn from old-timers but, unlike students in a teacher-

student relationship, newcomers also needed to contribute to the work of the group, by doing simple tasks which could be considered routine aspects of the practice (Fox, 2000). In this way they argued learning becomes part of the process that binds the community together. Although some of the work of the community is explicit much of it is implicit and internalized, tacit and intuitive. The newcomers have small jobs to do as part of the community and these small contributions make them 'legitimate' members of the group. Over time, as their skills grow and develop newcomers take on more and more responsibilities which in turn increase their 'legitimacy' within the group. Socially they move towards the centre and identify personally more and more within the community of practice in which they belong (Fox, 2000). Lave and Wenger (1991) call this '*legitimate peripheral participation*'. They argue that '*...it is difficult if not impossible to learn how to become a member of a community through a formalised process*' (Hodkinson, 2004:12).

In order to 'learn' according to Lave and Wenger (1991), you need to become an 'insider' into the community. Learning takes place as part of the community and as part of that process members acquire the communities' viewpoint, their histories and their language. Brown, Collins and Duguid, (1989) argue that members become 'enculturated' into their communities. Fuller et al. (2005) on the other hand argue that it is the 'fact' of becoming a member of the community that allows participation and therefore learning to take place. The issue argues Brown and Duguid (1991) is about becoming a practitioner not learning about practice, it is about situating learning in the practices and communities in which the knowledge takes on significance. '*Legitimate peripheral participation*' argues Brown and Duguid, (1991) provides us with an account of a 'constructive view of learning'. In itself, it provides a tool for understanding learning across different methods, different historical periods and different social and physical environments.

Legitimate peripheral participation attempts to account for learning. However it does not attempt to account for teaching or instruction; in itself it is a view of learning, not a method of education argue Brown and Duguid (1991).

Central to '*legitimate peripheral participation*' has been the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) in the development of the concept of 'communities of practice' (COP). 'Communities of practice' developed as a way of conceptualising and

understanding the contribution that the immediate social experience has in an individual's learning.

It is a perspective that locates learning, not in the head or outside it, but in the relationship between the person and the world, which for human beings is a social person in a social world

(Wenger, 2009:1-a).

It is part of a broader conceptual framework for thinking about learning in its social dimensions. Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that there is a great deal about learning, understanding and interpreting that is not explicit or explicable. Wenger (1998) and Wenger et al (2002) further explore, expand and develop the concept of 'communities of practice'.

6.2.2 What is a Community of Practice?

'Learning is a way of being in the social world, not a way of coming to know about it' (William F Hanks, 1991)

The term 'communities of practice' is very broad and can apply to everything from street gangs, to civil servants. The definition of a 'community of practice' reflects the social nature of human learning. A 'community of practice' argues Wenger (1998) is a group of individuals who come together for a common purpose or cause and as they interact on a regular basis, learn how to do it better; it is collective learning, the social nature of human learning. Within a 'community of practice' *'social relations are formed, negotiated and sustained around the activity that has brought people together'* (Fuller, 2007:21) Communities of practice however are not all driven by an altruistic need to work together, some 'communities of practice' are as a result of members needing to learn how to survive in a difficult situation. Not all groups are necessarily 'communities of practice' just because they are members of a professional group or work in the same place.

'Communities of practice' are not just about a group of people working or interacting together. There are a number of factors that must be present for a group to be considered to be a 'community of practice'. These factors are made up

of four principles and three key characteristics which allow 'communities of practice' to develop. According to Lave and Wenger (1991) the first principle is; that it is the collective group rather than the individual that is important in the learning process. Therefore it is the relationships and the relational network associated with the social relations which is the key to understanding learning in a 'community of practice'. The second principle is the concept that people learn through '*their co-participation in the shared practices of the community*' Fuller (2007:19). Individuals are not separate to the community, rather they make up the community, and they are the community. The third principle is the concept of identity; that is identity is formed through that which individuals learn through their participation in the community. The fourth and final principle is the concept that the 'curriculum' is made available to newcomers through their 'increasing participation' in the 'relevant and inevitably structured social practices of the community' (Fuller, 2007). In all according to the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) learning is a collective, relational and social process.

In order for a community of practice to occur argues Wenger (1998) there are three key characteristics or elements needed; the domain (joint enterprise), the community (mutual engagement) and the practice (shared repertoire). The domain/joint enterprise ensures that a community is brought together by a learning need that everyone in the group all share. This need may or may not be explicit and learning may not necessarily be the reason for the community coming together, it may only be a by-product of it. Within the 'community of practice' there is a shared commitment from its members and a shared competence which distinguishes group members from others.

The community/mutual engagement element of a 'community of practice' ensures that members interact with each other, building relationships, helping each other and learning and sharing with one another which in turn create a bond among members over time. Finally the practice/shared repertoire element of a 'community of practice' ensures that members build up shared histories of experiences, stories, jokes and other ways of working. These interactions in turn produce resources that affect their practice. The characteristics of a community of practice are:

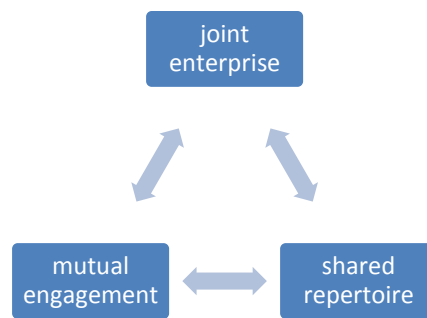


Diagram 6.1 Characteristics of a 'Community of Practice' (Wenger, 1998:73)

A 'community of practice' argues Wenger is held together by the 'learning values' members find in their interactions. It's the ongoing learning that takes place that sustains the community and holds it together. It is the engagement as individual learners that is the most important and relevant aspect of their participation. Members develop trust, based on their ability to learn together, to care about the area of shared inquiry and to respect each other as practitioners. Members also develop trust through questioning and challenge (Wenger, 2009-b). A community of practice differs from a 'team', in that a team is held together by a task that it has been set. The task may be short or long term. However when the task is completed, individuals leave. Individuals might learn something in the process of performing the task set but this does not define the team. It is the task and individuals' commitment and contributions to the task that keeps individuals together (Wenger 2009-b).

'Communities of practice' then can provide a vehicle for the involvement of practitioners in the management of the knowledge they need to undertake the work they are engaged in. For the organisation it can provide an opportunity for problem solving and knowledge sharing within a meaningful setting. It can even lead to synergy across different areas. For the individual 'communities of practice' can support the development of the personal and professional identity as well as support and provide opportunities to network with others. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2003) in their work suggest that in using a 'community of practice' framework, instead of school teachers working in isolation, they can become part of a whole community of knowledge and experiences which they can offer to their pupils.

However 'communities of practice' are not all positive and they are not all successful, they can be dysfunctional, counterproductive and even harmful according to Wenger (2009-a). As 'communities of practice' are complex social structures a number of factors can contribute to their success or failure including; self-governance, a sense of ownership, trust and recognition of contributions.

In order for a 'community of practice' to be successful argues Wenger (Wenger, 2009-b) there are a number of key factors that need to be in place; identification, leadership and time. The first factor is identification; the domain or joint enterprise needs to be identified, it needs to be energised and it needs to engage the group, with the right mix of rhythm and activities. Individual members of the group need to have a passion for the domain, it is central to the development of a 'community of practice'. The second factor is leadership, there needs to be skilful coordination of the group and some level of expert input (to support the learning process). However in spite of a leader, all members need to be actively involved in nurturing the group. The third factor is time, time is always at a premium but members need to ensure 'high value for time' for all who invest in the community.

6.2.3 Community of Practice and Identity

Issues of identity are an integral aspect of a social learning theory and are thus inseparable from issues of practice, community and meaning
(Wenger, 1998:145)

Everything that we do, all of our experiences through life add up to make us who we are. Wenger argues that our identities are a reflection of the landscape in which we live and work and our experience therein. Learning is a journey through these landscapes of practice (Wenger; 2009-a). Our identity is a reflection of our journey through our lives and the different groups we have belonged to. It incorporates the past, present and the future; our experiences, stories and life events. Our identity also reflects the numerous communities we are members of throughout our lives. At any given time we can belong to many 'communities of practice', groups, teams, all of which will impact on our identity. Finally our identity is scaled, we can belong to multiple levels of scale all at once e.g. teachers can identify, or not, with teachers in their school, local authority, county, country etc. (Wenger:2009-a).

*The focus on the social aspect of learning is not a displacement of the person. On the contrary, it is an emphasis on the person as a social participant, as a meaning-making entity for whom the social world is a resource for constituting an identity. This meaning-making person is not just a cogitative entity. It is a whole person, with a body, a heart, a brain, relationships, aspirations, all the aspects of human experience, all involved in the negotiation of meaning. The experience of the person in all these aspects is actively constituted, shaped and interpreted through learning, learning is not just acquiring skills and information; it is becoming a certain person.....thus **identity** reflects a complex relationship between the social and the personal. Learning is a social becoming.*

(Wenger 2009-a:2-3)

Focusing on identity argues Wenger (1998:145) narrows the focus onto the person as well as expanding the focus beyond the communities of practice into identification and social structures. Wenger conceives identity as a '*pivot between the social and the individual*' argues Hughes et al. (2007; 71). According to Wenger learning is the emergence of identity and identity is closely linked to community. He argues that '*building an identity consists of negotiating the meanings of our experience of membership in social communities*' (Wenger 1998:145). Identity he argues refers to a 'developing sense of belonging' to a community of practice defined by the key elements of mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire and membership of the community of practice 'translates into an identity as a form of competence' (Wenger, 1998:153). Wenger further argues that these negotiated and shared experiences become 'reified', that is they become objects with a 'force and power of their own'.

There is a link then between identity and practice. Identity of practice is created through the interplay of participation and reification e.g. the negotiated experience. Participation is the membership of belonging to a social community (community of practice) and reification are the products of the community e.g. documentation, forms, etc. Wenger (1998) has identified a number of characteristics of identity;

- Negotiated experience
- Community membership
- Learning trajectory
- Nexus of multi membership
- Relation between local and global

Wenger argues that identity is a *'way of talking about how learning changes who we are and creates personal histories of becoming in context of our communities.'* (1998:5). This is supported by the work of Cohen (1982) as quoted in Jewson (2007) who argues that communities are *'essentially imagined entities created around shared cultural meanings and collective identities, forged in and through symbols and rituals'* (Jewson, 2007:71). Aspects of Cohen's work and his analysis of symbols is similar to Wenger's reification argues Jewson. Jewson argues however that this idea of *'learning as the emergence of identity'* lacks clarity (2007:70). He further argues that Wenger's 'identity' acts as a pivot between the social and the individual, which *'avoids a simplistic individual-society dichotomy without doing away with the distinction'* (Wenger 1998:145). Identity argues Jewson (2007) may be in successfully traversing many communities without becoming too entwined in one.

6.2.4 Issues with 'Communities of Practice'

In relation to the work of Wenger and 'communities of practice', critics have identified a number of areas which, they argue, need further consideration including; the exact meaning of 'communities', the concept of novice –expert and the nature of 'participation' (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2003; Fuller et al, 2005, Fox 2000; Barton and Tusting, 2005).

6.2.4.1 What is Meant by 'Communities'?

The term 'communities' *'leads a hectic and promiscuous life as sociological concept, popular mythology and social policy principle.'* (Jewson, 2007:70)

There are a number of ways that the term 'communities' can be perceived. In everyday usage, Jewson (2007) argues, the term paints a picture of a harmonious existence, full of unity, co-operation and altruistic care for others. The term often provokes positive value judgments conjuring up images of a 'lost' era', when society was based on more local, simple and face to face encounters (Etzioni 1997; Frazier, 1999; Putnam, 2000). The term is also invoked within debates about social policy from a conservative, liberal and radical ideological perspective.

There are however, other definitions of community argues Jewson (2007) which sit within sociological theory that is; a special territory or sacred place, an elective interest group, a symbolically constructed sense of belonging or a configuration of social network bonds. Neither Lave and Wenger (1991) or Wenger (1998), argues Jewson (2007), discuss at any length the many definitions or the contrasting views of communities, rather they apply their definition of communities to the idea of a community as a '*symbolically constructed sense of belonging*' (Jewson, 2007:70). There is also no discussion by Wenger as to the other definitions of community. There is also no discussion as to the negative aspects of community membership; isolation, conflict, violence, discrimination and persecution which, argues Jewson (2007), are inherent when relationships are formed between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Similarly communities can be exclusive and reactive, opposing innovation and change. Although he may recognise that these issues exist, Jewson argues that Wenger doesn't provide any mechanisms for analysing or interpreting these issues if they occur.

Wenger agrees that he refers to the term 'communities' as generally being a positive one, arguing however that the '*interrelations arise out of the engagement in practice and not out of an idealized view of what a community should be like*' (Wenger, 1998:76). It is not the type of 'community' which makes a 'community of practice' rather the relationships and interactions between community members.

Another issue with 'communities' is the lack of clarity around the 'socio-spatial delineation' of the concept of community, in other words what are the boundaries of a 'community'?. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004) suggest that there is both a broad and narrow view of what constitutes a 'community', with strengths and weaknesses to both views. They argue that in the broader view '*we need to belong to learn and what it is that we belong to, can be called a 'community of practice*' (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2004:8). The strength in this view, they argue, is that it is elastic and it has the ability then '*to compass smaller 'manifestations' of communities of practice within the larger 'community of practice*'. Therefore argues Fuller (2007:23) '*an individual can simultaneously belong to a continuum of communities starting small and becoming progressively larger*'. The narrow view of 'communities' consists of the concept of tight knit groups exemplified in the examples provided by Lave and Wenger (1991) in their original work e.g. Vai and

Gola tailors in Liberia (Lave and Wenger, 1991). The strength of the narrower view is that it provides an everyday relevance for particular groups. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004:14) argue that both are relevant but the broader view should be captured as *'situated learning or learning as social participation and only the narrower version should be identified as 'communities of practice''*.

Wenger (1998) addresses this within his discussion of boundaries citing that communities of practice cannot be dealt with in isolation; individuals can belong to a number of communities simultaneously. The size of the community is not the issue, the key to a 'community of practice' argues Wenger, is the ability of members to recognise the practitioner in each other (Wenger, 2009-a). However there are other issues in relation to boundaries to be dealt with. Boundaries by definition keep similarities inside and differences outside. Wenger's approach, argues Jewson, has tended to neglect issues of violence, conflict, discrimination and persecution which are inherent in the formation of relationships between insiders and outsiders 'own' and 'other'. Boundaries are, according to Jewson, (2007) *'conceived in symbolic and cultural terms, specifically eschewing structural interpretations of difference'*.

Wenger (1998,56:77) argues that *'he does take into consideration that participation in 'communities of practice' may take the form of conflict, competition and rivalry rather than consensus, cooperation and mutual respect'*. However argues Jewson although he might acknowledge them he doesn't incorporate into his theory conceptual mechanisms for analysing or interpreting them (Jewson, 2007:71).

6.2.4.2 Novice-Expert

A second area for criticism is the concept of novice-expert. Fuller and Unwin (2004) challenge the accounts of Lave and Wenger (1991). They dispute the concept that the transfer of knowledge is one way, in some instances apprentices can be more expert in some tasks than their masters. Their research (Fuller and Unwin, 2004 and Fuller and Unwin, 2005) found that there was a variety of differences between the 'learning territories' of individuals. They also argue that in

contrast to Lave and Wenger not all novices and not all experts are the same (Fuller and Unwin, 2004).

They argue in their research that there is a wide variety of differences and richness in these 'learning territories'. They describe these 'learning territories' as having a range of regions in which individuals have opportunities to learn and gain experiences on a personal, professional and educational level among others. These differences have a direct impact on how individuals identify and engage with opportunities provided them (Fuller et al., 2005, Hodgkinson et al., 2005).

Cockburn's (1983) research has identified the complex nature of 'skill', describing three aspects which make up 'skills'. The first aspect is the experiences that workers bring to jobs, the second is the demand of a particular job and finally the third aspect is the political dimension which finds one group defending their skills against another group of workers or employers. Rainbird et al. (2004) argue in their work that Lave and Wenger do not address the tension which arises between the skills that 'reside' in the workers and the 'demands' of the job. Fuller (2007) on the other hand argues that Lave and Wenger do recognise the issues which can inhibit or provide alternative outcomes, citing

Conditions that place newcomers in deeply adversarial relations with masters, bosses or managers; in exhausting over-involvement in work; or in involuntary servitude rather than participation distort, partially or completely, the prospects for learning in practice.

(Lave and Wenger, 1991:64)

6.2.4.3 Participation

A third criticism of the work of Lave and Wenger focuses on the issue of participation. Hager (2005) argues that the concept of participation is limiting in its focus. First, the term participation is conservative in nature, aligning itself with continuity and reproduction instead of discontinuity and transformation. Therefore in Lave and Wengers' (1991) research, when an individual moves from legitimate to full participation within a community it occurs with the minimal amount of change of practice or change of social relationships within the community. The path taken is one of continuing with the 'same', moving in the same direction, rather than

creating something new. Brown and Duguid (1991) argue that 'legitimate peripheral participants take on the communities' language and viewpoints; they become 'enculturated' into the community.

Second Hager (2005) argues Lave and Wenger overlook the importance the process of 'construction' plays in the social world in which learning, self and the world are formed and reformed. Edwards (2005) on the other hand raises the issue of the production of new learning and new knowledge through 'participation'. She argues that on its own 'participation' cannot account for how new knowledge and new learning is produced. Finally Hager criticises the universality of application to all learning that community of practice presupposes. Hager argues that there isn't an either or approach, that both paradigms of learning can exist together; learning can be both a process and a product.

Fuller (2007) is also critical of the limiting nature of participation used by Lave and Wenger. Citing the work of Hager (2005), Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004) and Edwards (2005), she challenges the view that the term 'participation' can be applied across all settings. Citing the work of Osterlund (1996), she also questions the use of the term 'participation' applying only to learning that takes place within communities, asking about learning that might take place outside of the community. Research by Fuller and Urwin (2003), suggest that when individuals had opportunities to participate in multiple settings and networks they were afforded the most chances to make connections between different types of learning and experiences.

Fuller argues that the use of the term is inadequate to explain the different patterns of participation engaged in by individuals and groups. In addressing these limitations she identified Wenger's five trajectories of participation;

- Inbound trajectory-newcomers joining a community
- Peripheral trajectory-individual on the edge of the community
- Insider trajectory- the formation of identity doesn't end with full membership
- Boundary trajectory-membership that spans boundaries and links a number of communities of practice
- Outbound trajectory-trajectories that lead out e.g. when children grow up

Wenger (1998) recognised these limitations observing '*we go through a succession of forms of participation our identities form trajectories, both within and across communities of practice*' (Wenger, 1998:154). Wenger further argues that '*...the formation of a community of practice is also the negotiation of identities...negotiation of ways of being a person...*' (Wenger, 1998:149). Our identity is something that we as individuals negotiated over our lifetime. It is an organic process which is constantly 'becoming.' As part of this process individual identity trajectories are negotiated within communities of practice connecting the past, the present and the future.

6.3 Communities of Practice and Multi-agency Working

6.3.1 Roles and Responsibilities and Professional Identity

Wenger argues that the formation of 'identity' is through the negotiation of experiences; '*identity in practice arises out of an interplay of participation and reification*' (Wenger, 1998:153). The roles and responsibilities that individuals have in relation to their workplace will then have an influence in an individual's identity. In the research undertaken by Lave and Wenger (1991) individuals within a community took on differing roles and responsibilities depending on their acquisition of knowledge and skills through learning from 'old-timers'. Over time, roles and responsibilities developed as knowledge and skills grew. It was the interaction, the social learning in which learning took place which was considered important.

Findings from this research have suggested that BEST were made up of a range of professionals, who had varying roles and responsibilities within the team. Research data on the confidence levels of staff, which was discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, fell into two categories, those staff who were more confident than others in their roles and responsibilities (Category A) and those who were less confident (Category B). As discussed in the previous chapter, research has indicated that individuals in Category A all had clearly identified 'job descriptions' clearly setting out practices that staff were expected to engage in as

well as clear boundaries for those practices; whereas those in Category B had job descriptions which were more vague with less defined boundaries.

Wenger (1998) argues that job descriptions are reifications. He defines reifications as '*projecting our meanings into the work and then perceiving them as existing in the world, as having a reality of their own*' (Wenger, 1998:58). In the case of a job description, the reification is a tangible concrete object, although in its original state a job description would have just been an verbal understanding developed by members of a community as to what was expected of an individual, a weaver doesn't have a written description of what they do, it is identifiable through what they do.

In this instance, these job descriptions would have their origin in the main body or professional organisation from which the individual role originated, so for example the attendance officer would have taken on their roles and responsibilities from the years of 'belonging' to the educational welfare service. Similarly the teaching staff (lead behaviour professional, inclusion co-ordinator, head of year and form tutor) would have taken their roles and responsibilities initially from the years of being in the education community, latterly of being a teacher in one specific school. The youth worker would have taken their roles and responsibilities from the community of youth workers.

This is in direct contrast to Category B where both individuals had spent little time developing their roles and responsibilities prior to joining BEST. The social work student was still unsure of her role and responsibilities as a social worker and the support assistant was bringing her experiences as a parent, but not as a long standing support assistant to the team. However if as Lave and Wenger (1991) argue learning is about the interaction we undertake with those more knowledgeable than ourselves, a social worker learns to be a social worker when they are engaged within a community of social workers.

Participation in a multi-agency team by individuals would bring different starting points based on previous understandings of roles and responsibilities. In the creation of a multi-agency team, it could be argued that the individual team members need to develop new identities in relation to the new experience of multi-

agency working. Individuals need to build upon the roles and responsibilities agreed with their main professional body taking into account a new way of working. The issue is how the process of developing new roles and responsibilities within a multi-agency setting is undertaken. It could be that those individuals with clearly defined roles and responsibilities would feel more threatened by the changing nature of the work of the multi-agency team (Anning et al., 2006).

Wenger et al. (2002) outline a clear process for the development of a community of practice arguing that although the temptation is to set up a formal structure with plans, timelines etc., it is more important to find the triggers to catalyze a community into being. By defining the focus, topics and projects and building relationships individuals become excited by the creation of the community and are more able to see their part in the process; individuals become part of 'legitimate peripheral participation' in the community (Lave and Wenger, 1991). It could be argued then that the individual members of Category A and Category B were at various stages in learning about their roles and responsibilities in relation to BEST. Perhaps in order for individuals working in a multi-agency setting to be sure about their identity through the experiences of their roles and responsibilities they need to have been part of another community of single agency professionals.

6.3.1.1 Ethos

In his work, Wenger (1998) talks about the three dimensions of identity, which are similar to the three characteristics of a community of practice, they are; mutuality of engagement, accountability to an enterprise and negotiability of a repertoire. He argues that as full members of a community we feel competent in interacting with others, we understand how to interact and we understand why we are interacting in a specific way. According to Wenger, developing a community of practice requires that *'individual members are able to interact with one another, acknowledging each other as participants within the community, consequently practice 'entails the negotiation of ways of being a person in that context'* (Wenger 1998:149)

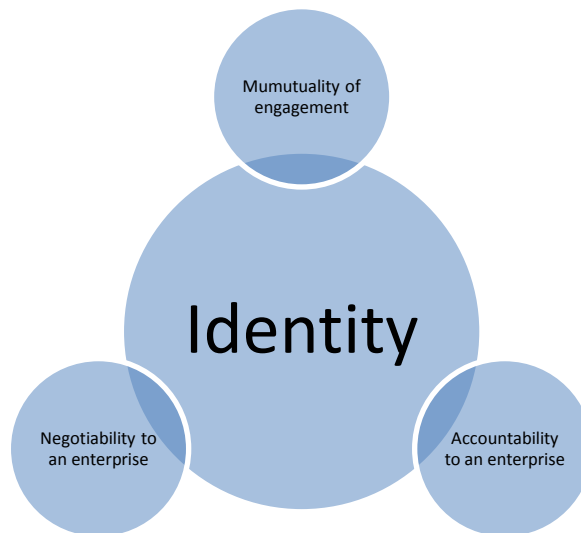


Diagram 6.2 Dimensions of Identity (Wenger, 1998)

During the interview process, respondents spoke about a professional 'ethos' and the importance it played in defining their professional role. However actually defining 'professional ethos'; was more difficult. Responses indicated that everyone felt that they had the best interests of young people at the centre of their work but it was demonstrated in different ways. As discussed in the previous chapter data suggested that this was a linear process, with an overlap of differing groups.

Using the dimension of mutuality of engagement I will explore the issue of 'ethos' which emerged within the research into roles and responsibilities. Wenger (1998) argues that as a community of practice engagement is learned by doing; that is in action with other people. Engagement allows for the development of expectations on how to treat other people, how to interact, socialise and work with them. This interaction helps to define our identity, our individuality as part of the group.

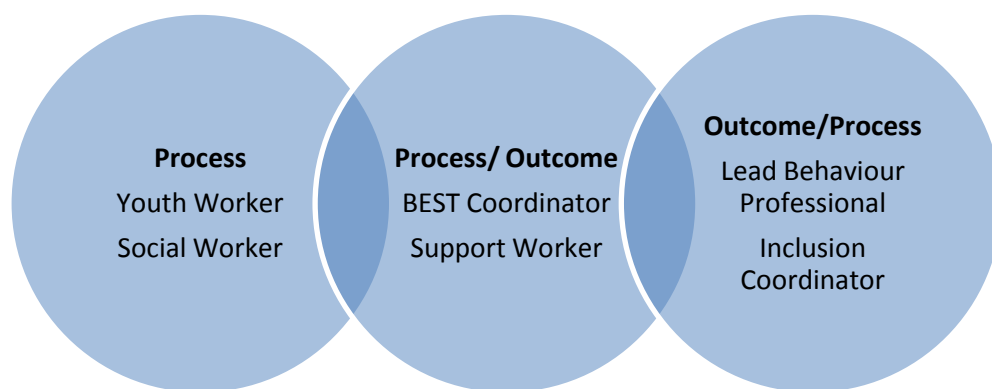


Diagram 6.3 Ethos and Professional Boundaries

(Also used in Chapter 5 as Diagram 5.1 Ethos and Professional Boundaries)

The diagram 6.3 illustrates the findings from the research data, which suggested that in spite of differing 'ethos', professionals could be divided into three categories. The first category (Process) consisted of the youth worker and the social worker. This category reflected what is defined here as the pastoral process of working with young people to address issues and move forward. The second category, labelled here as Process/Outcome appear to overlap each of the other two categories. This category consisted of the support worker and the BEST co-ordinator. These team members, who were not actively involved in teaching young people in a classroom setting spoke of 'ethos' in a wider perspective. The third category (Outcomes/Process) consists of the lead behaviour professional and the inclusion co-ordinator both of whom were also managers within the school as well as classroom teachers. From their perspective 'ethos' was clearly linked to learning in school, preparing young people for life outside of school.

In spite of the different drivers, the needs of children and young people appear to be at the heart of the work of individuals belonging to the school and to those in the multi-agency team. This appears to be the common factor, allowing for the communities to overlap in certain areas. Each of the three categories of professionals has similarities and differences. The similarities allow for the overlapping of boundaries, making it easier for individuals to engage with each other. The differences are the driving focus behind the work undertaken with young people that which makes each group separate from each other. The similarities are defined by Wenger as 'mutuality of engagement'. In this context,

identity translates into a form of individuality defined with respect to a community (Wenger, 1998:152). Within each category there is the need to establish which areas allow for overlap, which areas would allow for this mutuality, making engaging with each other easier.

Practice developed where individuals would act in different ways when working within BEST, than they might have acted in if they remained working in their single professional teams. So working in BEST, during a team meeting, the social worker student discusses a piece of work being undertaken with a young person, with other members of BEST (from other professional backgrounds; attendance officer, youth worker etc.) before working with them, in order to learn from their experiences, their knowledge and skills. This discussion might not occur if they were working within a single agency social work team. This in turn will have a direct impact on their understanding of their role and responsibilities of themselves and of others within the team.

There is a danger, however, of 'mutuality of engagement'. This is that individuals lose their distinctive professional role and becoming a little bit of everything. Anning et al. (2006) found in some areas of multi-agency working there was the fear of team members becoming a 'jack of all trades and a master of none'. This has implications for the development of roles and responsibilities. Perhaps this is more so when job descriptions are vague and all encompassing; within this research the support assistant felt initially that school staff felt she should take on roles that she felt weren't within her remit. This wasn't the situation with the attendance officer who knew exactly what he needed to do and was clear about his role and responsibilities within the multi-agency team.

Participation then is the interaction between the different members of BEST and school staff in supporting vulnerable children and young people, regardless of whether or not it is process or outcome driven. Reification is the job descriptions which define the roles and responsibilities of each individual member of the team, regardless of whether or not these roles and responsibilities are clearly defined on paper or developed over time as membership of BEST or both. Our identity is an ongoing process, we don't just acquire our identity when we are born or when we reach eighteen, nor does it stop development when we decide to retire at sixty-

five, the work of developing our identity is always going on. We renegotiate our identity constantly throughout our lifetime. At the point of time that this research took place, BEST played a part in the negotiation of the identity of individuals connected with the multi-agency team.

6.3.2 Knowledge and Skills and Professional Identity

Investment in an enterprise, in this case BEST allows individuals to look at the work in different ways argues Wenger, it gives individuals a certain focus, it allows them to understand certain conditions and to consider certain possibilities within a specific context and frame of reference. Identity allows individuals to develop relevant interpretations, to engage in certain actions and to make choices all because they belong to a specific enterprise (Wenger, 1998:152-3).

Learning can be viewed as a journey through different landscapes of practices and our identity as a personal reflection of these landscapes (Wenger, 2009-a). Identity is not only formed through the negotiation of experiences, it can also be considered as a form of competence (Wenger, 1998). We know who we are, argues Wenger (1998) by what is familiar, understandable, usable and negotiable. In analysing the research data, I suggested that part of an individual identity is made up of their knowledge and skills.

Wenger (1998) argues that learning is a continuous process, a trajectory in time. He refers to the '*temporal dimension of identity*' (Wenger, 1998:155) arguing that because of this, identity is a continuously changing process, Trajectories allow individuals to make sense of the information around them, '*as trajectories, our identities incorporate the past and the future in the very process of negotiating the present*' (Wenger, 1998:155). They provide a context in determining what information is of importance, what matters and what doesn't matter. In his work Wenger identifies a number of different types of trajectories; peripheral, inbound, insider, boundary and outbound. Understanding the different trajectories argues Wegner will provide an understanding of the different perspectives on participation and identities within the community of practice. Wenger (1998: 154-5) defines his trajectories using the following definitions;

- *Peripheral trajectories-trajectories that provide access to communities and its practice becomes significant to contribute to one's identity but, by choice or necessity, never lead to full participation*
- *In bound trajectories-newcomers joining the community, their identities are invested in their future participation*
- *Insider trajectories-evolution of practice continues within the community; new events, new demands, new inventions etc all create occasions for renegotiating one's identity*
- *Boundary trajectories-spanning of boundaries and linking of communities of practice*
- *Outbound trajectories-some trajectories lead out of a community*

This research provided a snapshot in time of individuals' perceptions in relation to their knowledge and skills in professional identity. In analysing the research data, it appears that most members of BEST and school staff felt that their personal knowledge was more important, mattered more in their personal development than the more formally acquired knowledge. This is illustrated in the diagramme below, which shows a breakdown of responses according to categories. Apart from two individuals, those interviewed appeared to have a similar view regarding the acquisition of personal knowledge, considering it more relevant than codified knowledge.

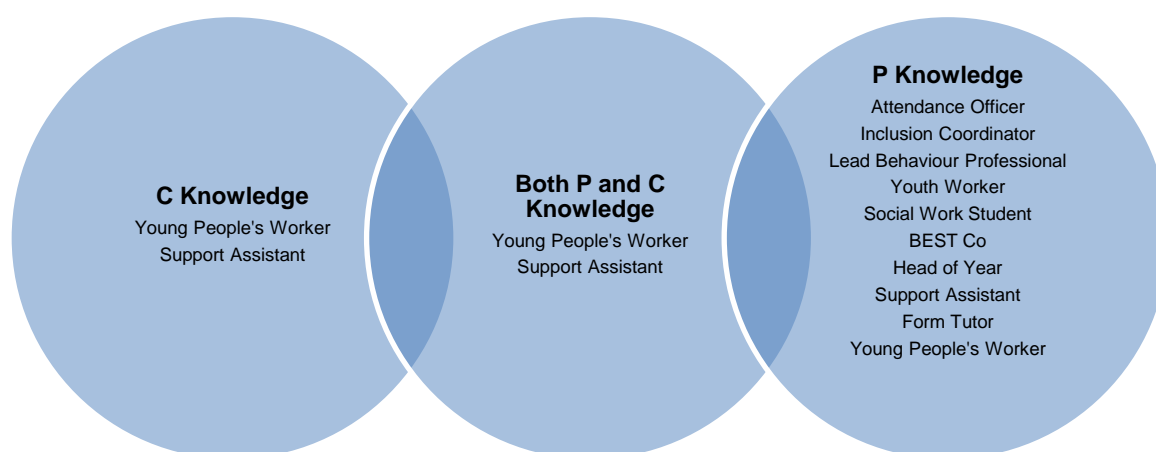


Diagram 6.4 Codified and Personal Knowledge Categories

(Also used in Chapter 5 as Diagram 5 2 Codified and Personal Knowledge Categories)

The acquisition of knowledge in whatever form is not the issue here, rather how this knowledge, these skills are incorporated into our changing identities within a

multi-agency setting. If this view of knowledge is looked at through the lens of Wenger's trajectories, I argue that those individuals who valued personal knowledge, view codified knowledge as only peripheral to their needs. Some trajectories are peripheral in nature; never lead to full participation but can still be extremely important to an individual identity. When asked to elaborate, every individual interviewed bar one, the attendance officer, was able to identify some type of codified knowledge, some structured learning in their past; however this knowledge wasn't thought of immediately when interviewed, it wasn't considered to be important or relevant to the interview.

Perhaps at that point in the multi-agency team, codified knowledge played only a peripheral part in their identities. Another example would be the student social worker. The knowledge and new ways of working that the student social worker brought to the team might be viewed as a peripheral trajectory, because she was only in place for a short period of time. The knowledge brought by other professionals was very influential as noted through comments by the inclusion co-ordinator '*that was better obviously because we had someone to go to, to present our facts and then work towards their experiences and the best thing for us.....is this the best route to go down*'.

Inbound trajectories relate to new members joining a community. Initially when BEST were first developed it could be argued that all trajectories at that point were inbound, that all individuals were planning to become full participating members of the community, bringing their personal knowledge which in turn would be shared with other members. Fuller and Unwin's (2004) argument that not all novices and not all experts are the same would support this. At the start of BEST, in some instances apprentices could be more expert in some tasks than their masters were (Fuller and Unwin, 2004).

Once BEST was established knowledge and practice continued to evolve. Wenger labels these insider trajectories. At the time of the research, the personal knowledge brought into BEST by new members may have had more relevance than codified knowledge. Knowledge about specific ways of working e.g. young people's worker, attendance officer etc. would integrate itself into the community's working becoming part of its history. In that way the knowledge of single agency

working was combined with other services to create new knowledge, new histories, and new identities. As practice continues, new knowledge continues to be brought into the community; with a part to play for both personal and codified knowledge. At the point where the team had been established for a period of time and personal knowledge had been shared, codified knowledge would be useful as a catalyst for new knowledge to be brought into the community. This would apply to the knowledge brought by the student social worker into the established team.

During the period in which this research took place and on several previous occasions, members of BEST had left the team, moving on to other positions; the young people's worker, the nurse and mental health worker attached to the team. Wenger labels this movement outbound trajectory. This outbound trajectory was a cause of concern by some of the team members, the fact that team members were leaving could be seen as an instability in the community in one sense, but it could also been seen as a way of allowing new members into the team, bringing in new knowledge and skills. This is supported by Wenger (1998) who argues that when outbound trajectories happen individuals need to develop new relationships and positions within the community.

In relation to knowledge and skills, engagement is a threefold process according to Wenger; the negotiation of meaning, the formation of trajectories and the unfolding histories of practice. Engagement is about the development of shared histories of learning, relationships, interactions with others and practices that individuals establish. From the research data relationships within the multi-agency team appeared to be positive in nature. Although Rainbird et al. (2004) and Cockburn (1983) argued that Wenger didn't address the issue of tensions which arise within communities; this research identified few tensions within the multi-agency team that might hinder engagement. Observations of team meetings and of individuals prior to interviews indicated open body language, laughter, positive and steady flow of discussion which wasn't broken by uncomfortable breaks or pauses in conversation.

The team had also developed shared histories, all but 1 team member, the social work student, had been in post for a minimum of 14 months, so they had been able to develop shared histories of practices as BEST, specific to working together

in a multi-agency setting. The danger argues Wenger (1998) with engagement, is that it can become so narrow that it stops the community from engaging with anything outside of its own boundaries; it becomes narrow, closed and restricted. This doesn't appear to have happened in this instance, perhaps because the team was so closely aligned to the school that there was a continuous flow between the two. Individuals within the team were also supported by their professional bodies, so the attendance officer received supervision from the educational welfare service and the BEST co-ordinator and lead behaviour professional met with other BEST co-ordinators across the local authority.

6.3.2.1 Modes of Belonging

Identity, however, is not just about engaging in practice argues Wenger (1998). Identity is not just defined by the knowledge we bring to activities, or by the participation or non participation in said activities. Identities are also affected by the pictures we hold of ourselves in relation to our position in our community, how we engage with our community, the images we hold of ourselves and others and how we fit into the bigger picture. Wenger argues for the need to consider two other 'modes of belonging' in relation to identity; imagination and alignment. Imagination; the second 'mode of belonging' is necessary argues Wenger, in order to expand and develop our identity. It is the ability to see into the future and see what things might be. This is extremely important in the development of BEST or any multi-agency team. Professionals coming into BEST from their original services e.g. youth work, educational welfare, school support staff etc, needed to be able to have a vision of what might be in relation to their identity and membership of the new team. This vision enabled them to establish their aims and objectives for the team;

To encourage the desire in the children and young people of [local authority name] to learn effectively by promoting emotional well being in children and young people, families and schools (Appendix –10, BEST, 2004)

Wenger refers to this as the ability to '*produce new images and generate new relations through time and space that become constitutive of the self*' (Wenger (1998:177). Imagination does have its negative side though as it can also produce

stereotypes. This was perceived to be the situation with members of the school staff (not interviewed) with the roles and responsibilities of BEST. The feeling that the 'support assistant' would be available to undertake 'dinner duties' because that is what all support staff did or the feeling that all other schools linked BEST to the secondary school and this didn't allow for an individual identity to be formed.

Alignment, the third mode, is important because it allows communities to fit within broader structures; as in the situation of co-locating BEST within a secondary school. The research has indicated a close working relationship between the two. BEST has aligned itself with the school in a number of ways. First, through the use of similar or complementary forms, styles of report writing, systems for reporting absence, systems for taking days off etc., which Wenger refers to as reification, BEST have aligned their systems and processes with those of the school. Second, through participation in joint social events, school activities, team meetings and referral meetings BEST have developed coordinated enterprises. Finally through the 'brokering' of the lead behaviour professional, moving between the school and BEST learning is passed from one community to another, in this way a common discourse is developed.

However alignment also had its negative side, as outsiders couldn't distinguish between the school and BEST, considering them to be one and the same. This had a negative aspect to the work of BEST as in past years the school had a negative reputation and BEST expressed concerns about being seen in that light. Membership in communities and communities themselves are not seen in isolation. They are in fact part of a much larger picture and therefore our identity is also connected to a larger picture within which our community is located. Within the research members of both communities spoke to the benefit of support networks; the need to talk to 'like minded' individuals, the need to feel part of a bigger picture, the local-global interplay. As individuals we may belong to a number of difference communities at the same time. We use the knowledge and skills from one community into another community. So when the support assistant talks about the knowledge she brings to BEST as a parent, she is using her knowledge in the identity of a parent to support the identity of a support assistant within BEST. In some of these communities we are full members, some we sit on

the periphery, and some we belonged to in the past, however all will contribute to our identities to a greater or lesser extent.

However at times membership of different communities can create competing demands on our identities, Individuals can be faced with conflicting demands which need to be reconciled, or not. Wenger argues that membership of many groups and the work of reconciling the differencing aspects of each community is 'intrinsic to the concept of our identity'. He argues that identity needs to be considered as a nexus of membership, and it is within this nexus that '*multiple trajectories become part of one another, whether they clash or reinforce each other*' (Wenger 1998:159).

6.3.3 Terminology and Professional Identity

...our identities form in this kind of tension between our investment in various forms of belong and our ability to negotiate the meanings that matter in those contexts

(Wenger, 1998:188)

I argued in the previous chapter that shared language has an influence on our perceptions, shapes our understandings and 'impacts' on how we work together. A shared language has the ability to facilitate access to people or to keep them apart. Language argues Wenger (1998) is part of the negotiability of a repertoire, as are artefacts and actions. It is part of the history of practice. We use the history because we have been part of the development of that history and therefore it has played a part in the creation of our identities.

Wenger argues that meaning needs to be negotiated in the context of the various communities of which we are members. It is the membership of the communities which help in the development of shared histories and understandings. In light of this understanding, the meaning of 'multi-agency', 'inter-agency', 'partnership and 'collaboration' need to reflect the communities, and the identities from which BEST and school communities originated. This means not just looking at the meanings behind the words; rather looking at various communities of practice negotiating with each other.

The term 'multi-agency' becomes the statement that defines the community; it becomes a reification of what the community is. Although in itself the term 'multi-agency' is diffuse and rather intangible it becomes something that members of the team can use to identify with, point to, refer to and use to define their purpose. In understanding this I will return to the concepts of participation and reification. Reification can refer here to both the process and the product; the two are intertwined, opposite sides of the same coin. Not all members of BEST or school staff were involved in producing the referral forms, but they all used the forms in their daily work. By the same token, not all members of the community had the same understanding of 'multi-agency' working but they all engaged with each other within the community to undertake work with young people.

Through the engagement with one another, members of BEST and school staff will establish their own shared histories of learning, one of which will be the meaning of 'multi-agency'. Relationships which develop within BEST and with school staff will inform these shared histories based on aspects of participation and reification. The meaning of 'multi-agency' will be an ongoing process, continuously developed through engagement. Starting points might be different for each individual, they might come at the meaning from a numerical or territorial perspective; however in the development of BEST, new meanings will be forged, '*...because of the different knowledge of different people...*' (young people's worker), '*...the understanding that we have been able to develop...*' (BEST co-ordinator), '*....I now feel that my relationships that I have built up...*' (student social worker). Although research identified a number of different dimensions in the definition of 'multi-agency', 'inter-agency', 'partnership' and 'collaboration', e.g. numerical, territorial etc., it is the process of coming together as a community under the label that is important, with similar understandings, brokered between BEST, the school staff and wider communities.

Wenger (1998) refers to identification as the 'participative process of identifying with someone or something'. Individual members of BEST identified with the term 'multi-agency' and 'inter-agency' often using them interchangeably. Identification as a process is both relational and experiential. BEST identify with the label of 'multi-agency team'; while at the same time they are the multi-agency team.

Wenger (1998) argues further that identification can be both positive and negative, in the sense that it is about shaping what we are as well as what we are not. Through engagement a sense of who the multi-agency team is; is produced. The effects the concept 'multi-agency' have on individuals as well as the effect the concept has on the community itself is produced. Within engagement our identities can be developed without necessarily being the focus of our attention. We can be developing the identity of a member of a multi-agency team, while working in the team, but not necessarily focusing on being a member of the team.

Imagination is also important to identification. Identification allows us to develop a picture of what we want the future to be. Imagination yields a sense of affinity, an identity of participation according to Wenger. Identity can also be created through non-participation. Members of BEST may not be able to define exactly what they mean by 'multi-agency' but they do know what they mean by 'non multi-agency', - '*not as formal*' (*BEST coordinator*), '*rather than working for*' (*young people's worker*), '*might not be positive*' (*Head of Year*) thereby creating a picture of the world in which we can place ourselves, which in turn determines how we understand our engagement within the 'multi-agency' team.

Alignment will also play a part in understanding 'multi-agency'. To some extent our understanding of the concept will effect others understandings. Individuals seek to align themselves with others who have shared histories. Individuals seek to align their understandings with one another within the community. In answering questions regarding terminology, respondents kept to a similar pattern of responses with those who responded in the first question using a numerical dimension also used the same reference point for the second question. The same applies to those who used a territorial dimension in the first questions again used this as a reference point for the second question. Similarly one of the respondents who used both a numerical and territorial dimension in the first questions used both as a basis for answering the second question.

We need to consider how we negotiate through the meanings that are important to us. Negotiation argues Wenger is defined with respect to social configuration and our positions within the communities; it is the ability to take responsibility for and shape the meanings that matter. When the student social worker came on

placement, she had to negotiate her role in the team '*...I think one of the difficulties is in not knowing exactly what my role is....I am trying to slot in and it is quite difficult to make sure that I am not stepping on anybody's toes while I am here...*' When members of BEST left the team, as in the situation with the young people's worker, the team had to renegotiate their positions and at times this meant that there was a gap in provision '*...if they are looking for one particular type of support and that has been taken away then it is more difficult...*' Another example of this would be the form tutor, who had previously worked as a support assistant and then moved into teaching. She will have had to renegotiate her position within schools as she changed her role.

Negotiation then allows for meaning to be transferred from one setting to another, taking on different shapes and configurations depending on the members of the community. This is important in relation to co-location. Co-location may have a direct impact on the ability to negotiate meaning between BEST and the school.

6.3.4 Co-location of BEST

One of the themes threading itself throughout this research is the theme of co-location; I will consider the relationship between BEST and school staff interviewed. Wenger (1998) argues that 'communities of practice' are not exclusive entities in themselves and cannot be seen in isolation, they overlap with each other and members of one community belong to other communities simultaneously. The histories of one community overlap with the histories of other communities. Artefacts of one community will have relevance within other communities. Participation and reification are extremely important in this process and can contribute to the continuities and discontinuities of these boundaries.

Wenger identifies two types of connectors between communities of practice; boundary objects and brokering. Boundary objects are 'artefacts, documents, terms, concepts and other forms of reification around which communities of practice can organise their interconnections' Boundary objects is a term coined by Star (Wenger, 1998:106) to describe objects '*within the multi-agency team boundary objects might be artefacts e.g. referral forms, team meeting notes, case reports, and brochures identifying the role of the team*'. Star (1989) outlines a

number of characteristics which enable artefacts to act as boundary objects. These include modularity, abstraction, accommodation and standardisation. In this instance modularity would refer to the school newsletter, one part of which contains reference to the work of the multi-agency team. Another example would be common job descriptions used between BEST and the school e.g. those of a support assistant. Abstraction would be the lack of individual identities of BEST and school, with outside services (including other schools) seeing the multi-agency team belonging to the school; *'I find that when you refer to it as the [school name] BEST team that you get some very strange brows and people latch on to the school and start talking about the school [young peoples' worker]*. Accommodation would refer to the location of BEST within the school, with the same caretaker and limits to what can be undertaken in the building and standardisation would consist of the common referral pathways developed to provide support for individual young people.

In order for boundary objects to be created there would have needed to be a meeting of the different perspectives of the different communities, in this case school systems, structures and staff within the school and professionals within BEST. Wenger calls the meeting of different perspectives the 'nexus of perspectives', where artefacts obtain their meaning. This process of negotiating meaning between one community and another, isn't always an easy process

...procedures within the school to take children out and things, that has been a bit of an issue, I mean I know the whys and the wherefores and the boxes to tick...that's sort of hindered us, that's where things have been knocked back...'

(support assistant)

The process isn't always a two way process either, at times it merely happens *'It is the systems that you are linked into that perhaps haven't allowed as much flexibility as would have liked, or sometimes it is just time constraints'* (BEST Co).

The second type of connection argues Wenger, happens through participation. Brokering are *'connections provided by people who can introduce elements of one practice into another'* (Wenger 1998:105). It occurs when one member of a community transfers or 'brokers' an element of one practice into another. This process is not a simple as it may seem, it requires the process of translating,

coordinating and aligning different perspectives. Latour (1986) argues that in order to happen it needs to be legitimate enough to have influence on others, to gain the attention of others and to address potential issues of conflict with others. It also requires the ability to facilitate transactions between groups as well as to cause learning to happen within communities. Brokers often walk a fine line; they need to ensure that they don't get pulled too much into one community and thereby being rejected by another community.

Within the membership of BEST and the school one individual could be considered in the role of the broker, the lead behaviour professional. In their interview they responded that part of the knowledge and skills that they brought to the team was '*...I am quite good at....adapting school to allow these people to work in it and encouraging those people to adapt so that they can work within the school.....*'. In some respects they were seen to be part of BEST as well as part of the school. They had influence in both; they attended BEST meetings as well as being part of the senior leadership team of the school. They had a history of being able to influence others; in fact the development of the team was as a result of the influence they had played with school staff. They were also able to facilitate learning, an example of which was the development of a document which identified pathways of support for young people across the school.

Brokering and the establishment of boundary objects will have benefited from co-location and the ease of moving between the two. The head of year felt that the '*physical location builds trust and allows for relationships*'. In this instance each individual member of BEST and the school staff they came in contact with were able to act in the form a 'broker' in the building of trust between individuals. The young people's worker felt that '*...they [the school] are probably more confident in the work that you are doing because they can see it going on around them.....and obviously they will also see some outcomes from it in their lesson....*'. In this instance individuals within BEST were acting as brokers into school, sharing their way of working with staff in school.

Brokering then will have had an impact on meaning, in terms of understanding of concepts and terminology used within BEST and school. If I consider the proximity of the two and the opportunities for brokering, the expectation would be that the

two communities and the individuals within the communities shared similar understanding, '*...because we understand the way school works...*'(young people's worker), '*...is kind of making a clear understanding of what our roles are....I think this has had to be clarified a bit...*'(support worker), '*...I think the fact that it is so accessible...that has made it easier to demystify any conceptions that people have...*' (BEST co-ordinator). This might not have occurred at the onset, however over a period of time supported by their close proximity, the two would have aligned themselves towards a common understanding.

Co-location of the multi-agency team within the school will have allowed for a number of other opportunities to for individuals to engage with each other. Wenger (1998) calls these boundary encounters and as such identifies three different ways these can occur; one-on-one, immersion and delegation. One-one-one encounters occur as members of the different communities passed by each other during the school day, on the way to teach class or work with a young people, or by seeking each other out informally to exchange information, or through more formal meetings, timed to ensure that a private conversation could be held. These opportunities were valued by school staff, expressed in comments by the head of year '*...if they [BEST] were not co-located they might not have the time...* and the inclusion co-ordinator, '*...because there is always someone here from the team....sometimes I need the support there and then*'. These encounters, which are often in the guise of asking or receiving information about a young person provided the opportunity for individuals to be candid about their own practices in order to 'advance the boundary relation' (Wenger 1998).

Immersion is another type of boundary encounter. Co-location of BEST is to some extent an extreme example of immersion. Not just one individual visiting another community but the whole team. This might benefit BEST; in being exposed to the community of a school, however to some extent it limits the exposure of the school to the community of BEST. It can also create difficulties for the individual members of the team in terms of identity.

Delegation is the third type of boundary encounter, where members from one community meet with members from the other community. This has the advantage of keeping the negotiation of meaning alive between the different members of

each community, providing two way connections. Within this practice this has occurred when members of BEST have sat on the school referral panel. This has allowed for the negotiation of meaning to take place during conversations on the individual referrals, exploring the different perspectives and practice of both school members and BEST resulting in the development of boundary practice. In this instance boundaries are not only for keeping members outside or inside a community, they also become important in connecting members and communities together. These encounters may develop into longer term relationships. These relationships develop into practice, which in itself gains history.

6.4 Conclusion

Although with the change in government, multi-agency working no longer appears to be at the forefront of the government's agenda, the issue of how individuals develop their professional identity and how this development can be supported remains. My thoughts at the start of this research were to gain an insight into the feelings and perceptions of individuals working in a multi-agency team.

As discussed in the introduction, the aim of this small scale research project was to look at the impact multi-agency working has had on the individual members of one multi-agency team (BEST) and selected school staff, all of whom are located within a secondary school. This research was not concerned with the impact multi-agency working has had on reducing social exclusion, behaviour and attendance issues. The research was interested in the process of being a multi-agency team and the interactions individuals had with one another and with selected school staff. In considering the perceptions and experiences of individuals, the research also discussed factors (Tett et al., 2001; Cameron and Lart, 2003; Ball, 1997) which could support and/or hinder multi-agency working.

At the onset of this research the objectives were to;

1. Consider the experiences individual team members have in sharing their knowledge and skills with individuals from other professionals, while working in a multi-agency team.

2. Consider the experiences individual team members have in developing and maintaining their individual roles and responsibilities while working in a multi-agency team.
3. Consider the experiences and views of selected secondary school staff, in sharing knowledge and skills with the multi-agency team, co-located within the secondary school.
4. Consider the experiences of selected secondary school staff, in their understanding of the individual roles and responsibilities of multi-agency team members.
5. Consider the use of specific terminology in relation to expectations of individual members of what it means to work in a 'joined up' manner.
6. Consider the impact of co-locating the multi-agency team within a secondary school setting.

However, in undertaking this research, the use of a grounded theory approach has allowed the research to take its own directions. A grounded theory approach allowed the research to be developed and shaped around the data provided from content analysis, observations and interviews, which allowed for the continued development of theory. I wanted to explore without any preconceived ideas, the perceptions of individuals in relation to multi-agency working. From the data the research identified 'professional identity' as the main category with three properties:

1. Roles and responsibilities and professional identity
2. Knowledge and skills and professional identity
3. Terminology and professional identity (language)

The discussion on the research findings has further looked at how individual members of the multi-agency team and selected school staff have perceived their roles and responsibilities in relation to the team and to one another. The research has also looked at how individuals have viewed the knowledge and skills they

have as well as their perceptions of sharing their knowledge and skills within the team and with the school. Finally the use of language in relation to individual's understanding of the terms used to define 'joined up' working has been discussed. Throughout the discussion has been the thread of co-location.

As it could be argued that all of these issues begin to make up our professional identity; this has then lead to a discussion on professional identities using Wenger's 'communities of practice' as a theoretical framework. A 'community of practice' argues Wenger (1998) is a group of individuals who come together for a common purpose or cause and as they interact together, learn how to do it better.

This research has considered the perceptions of a small group of individuals working within a multi-agency team, co-located within a secondary school and several school staff who work with the team. Identity is a negotiation of experiences; roles and responsibilities, knowledge and skills, the language used and places of employment. In thinking about the development of their professional identities I have looked at the development of professionals' identities using Wenger's (1998) 'communities of practice'.

In the final chapter, I have looked at the emerging category of professional identity; roles and responsibilities, knowledge and skills and terminology in relation to communities of practice. Using Wenger's 'communities of practice' as a theoretical framework for understanding identity within BEST and school, has allowed me to consider the development of identity as a process, as a journey which is fluid and continuous.

Through an exploration of individual's experience in the development of their roles and responsibilities I have discussed Wenger's first dimension of identity; mutuality of engagement in relation to communities of practice. I have considered how individuals who are at various stages in the development of their roles and responsibilities when they join a multi-agency team have different experiences in coming together to form one community. It was argued that perhaps it is easier for individuals who have spent less time in a single professional role to work in a multi-agency setting than for those professionals who have spent years working in a single professional group. On the other hand there is a danger of individuals

losing their distinctive professional role and becoming a little bit of everything when working in a multi-agency team.

I have looked at individual's experiences of sharing their knowledge and skills the development of identity and Wenger's second dimension of identity; accountability to an enterprise. I have explored not just the knowledge and skills brought to the development of an identity but also how the images we hold of ourselves, our interaction within the community and our ability to see into the future allows for the development of our identity. I have also considered how membership of different communities (BEST, main professional body) can create competing demands on our identities, demands which need to be reconciled. Wenger argues that membership of many groups and the work of reconciling the differencing aspects of each community is 'intrinsic to the concept of our identity'.

I have investigated the third dimension of identity, the negotiability of a repertoire in relation to the use of language within BEST and how this has impacted on the development of identity. The need to consider how as individuals we negotiate through the meanings that are important to us, how we align ourselves to others, how we use and understand shared language. Negotiation then allows for 'meaning' to be transferred from one setting to another, taking on different shapes and configurations depending on the members of the community. This is important in relation to co-location.

Finally I have considered the co-location of the multi-agency team within the school, as co-location may have a direct impact on the ability to negotiate meaning between BEST and the school providing opportunities to for individuals to engage with each other.

At this point I might ask if BEST could be considered a 'community of practice'. Research by Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2003) has shown that departments within a secondary school can be considered 'communities of practice'. In their research the art department with its long standing membership fulfilled the criteria for a 'community of practice'. They argued that the learning career of 'Mary' was interlinked to the department to which she belonged and that neither the learning careers of 'Mary' nor her co-workers in the community of practice could be

separated out from the wider context. Hodkinson (2004:12) argues that '*learning at work cannot be separated out from the everyday working practices of the workplace*'.

It seems too simple to just say that BEST is a 'community of practice'. While there are areas where it seems that BEST and 'communities of practice' sit alongside one another, there are other 'areas' where it is questionable as to whether you could describe BEST as a 'community of practice'. Using Wenger's criteria (Wenger, 1998) for a 'community of practice' I can begin to explore the possibility that BEST and some (if not all) of the school staff interviewed are members of a community of practice. BEST have a shared purpose; as is set out in their literature to parents and school staff, that is;

To encourage the desire in children and young people of [local authority] to learn effectively by promoting emotional well being in children and young people, families and schools

(Appendix 10-BEST, 2004)

BEST work together in a small office. They take lunch breaks with each other and other members of school staff and meet up informally at the end of the day where often problem solving occurs' *...when we get together on an evening if one of us has an issue...I would sit down and ...bat that around a bit...* [support assistant] and '*...everybody coming back here... we have time to be able to meet and just to discuss what has happened in the day...*' [youth worker].

Part of their links with the school ensure that they work alongside school staff during joint activities e.g. pastoral days and activities, induction for Y7, trips etc, while maintaining their independence as a separate team e.g. they don't do 'dinner duties'. They have clearly defined roles and responsibilities within the school, but also feel a part of the school. They socialise as a team, while also socialising with school staff and are invited to nights out at Christmas and end of term. On one occasion they went out as a team and then met up with school staff afterwards for drinks. They meet with each other and school staff informally, where often discussions about young people occur. '*...it is a lot easier to share...*'. The ease of these discussions is valued by school staff.

BEST have developed a way of working over the years they have been together. They have developed a system that supports their needs but doesn't alienate school staff. Paperwork, timetabling, administration systems are in line with the school but undertaking in a way that allows for individuality on the part of the team.

Although I have considered the possibility of BEST as a 'community of practice', school staff interviewed sat on the edge of that community. It is harder to argue that those school staff interviewed form a separate community of practice, although they might belong to a 'community of practice' within the secondary school made up of pastoral support staff. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2003) identified a number of secondary school departments as communities of practice e.g. arts, science, English. In this research school staff interviewed belonged to the 'pastoral' side of school, with a focus on inclusion but working across various departments. It is difficult from the data to ascertain if they belonged to a community called inclusion, or maths department, senior management team etc..

Alternatively it might be argued that they are part of or on the periphery of the community of practice called BEST. Research data did show that BEST co-existed within the school context with a minimal amount of difficulty. Perhaps co-locating BEST allowed for the development of identities which complemented the role of the team in relation to their clients more than had they existed apart from the school.

I would argue that for the most part BEST can be considered a community of practice; however there are areas where it could be argued that BEST does not fit the criteria. In particular a number of individual members of BEST struggled to find their professional identity within the team. This was in contrast to Wenger's argument that '*...identity in practice arises out of an interplay of participation and reification*' (Wenger, 1998:153).

Another area in which BEST didn't fit the criteria was in 'learning by doing'. Within BEST there was the danger of individuals losing their distinctive professional role and becoming a little bit of everything when they were part of a multi-agency team. This occurred when job descriptions were vague and all encompassing, as highlighted in the role of the support assistant. This was in contrast to Wenger's

argument that as a community of practice engagement is learned by doing (mutuality of engagement). Finally, in developing shared histories within the team there is a danger of the 'community of practice' becoming so narrow that it can become closed and restricted. With BEST this didn't occur perhaps because of the close proximity to the secondary school and the continuous flow between school and BEST members.

Using Wenger's 'community of practice' and his concept of 'identity' I have explored the theme of professional identity and how BEST and selected school staff have negotiated the experience of self [identity] in relation to roles and responsibilities, knowledge and skills and terminology in a multi-agency setting. BEST as a 'community of practice' has been discussed. Those areas where BEST could be described as a 'community of practice' have been outlined as well as those areas within which BEST doesn't quite fit the criteria for a 'community of practice'. To that end it is recognised that perhaps BEST may in itself only in part be considered a 'community of practice'.

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Behaviour Improvement Programme

Steering Group Minutes

15th September 2004

3.30 pm – 5.30 pm

Dryden Centre

Present

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

1. Apologies

[REDACTED]

2. Matters Arising

No matters arising.

3. Day 1 Provision/External Evaluation

Questionnaire – [REDACTED] described the current position of schools in developing a range of models for Day 1 Provision. There is also a National Evaluation and Ofsted Inspection and therefore in order to provide information for the external evaluation report, a less demanding aspect of the evaluation would be a questionnaire looking at whole school view of pupil behaviour and provision. The questionnaire currently is in draft form and has been presented to secondary headteachers and LBPs for comment.

Comments:

- turnover of staff and view of staff over last 5 years – 2 years may be better
- secondary schools on front not high schools
- time to complete form-would this be repeated next year
- query about use of Gateshead logo.

Appendix 1 BIP Minutes and Steering Group Notes

It was agreed that there was a need to undertake this evaluation with a follow-up questionnaire next year to assess progress. An evaluation of primary schools was also requested by steering group although a modified primary evaluation will be needed.

Have we taken into account pupil views? There is a need to look at pupil evaluation at another steering group meeting. How effective are school councils? Connexions link into Gateshead Youth Assembly maybe Steering Group should. JP to look into how to include pupils/obtain their views- perhaps a meeting with Andrea Wilkinson?

HMI Visit

The HMI visit from [REDACTED] is scheduled for the w/c 6th December. The format of the visit includes:

- Monday
 - i. Meeting with: key players within BIP
 - ii. Meeting with BIP Co
 - iii. Meeting with 4 BEST Co (together)
 - iv. Meeting with FSES Co and HT
 - v. Meeting with all BIP schools (twilight)
- Tuesday/Wednesday- Two days focussed on secondary schools. Where we were – what has impacted? Minimum of 4 lesson observations. Looking for teachers who have good practice and links to B&A Strategy.
- Thursday-!1/2 day observation of Day 1 Provision in each cluster and ½ day in 1 cluster primary school.

Discussions will be undertaken with the 4 secondary headteachers on which clusters HMI will visit. SEN Inspector will visit Day 1 Provision looking at teaching and learning in preparation for HMI visits. AM to contact schools re visits. JP will check with other LEA BIP inspection visits to clarify the nature of the observations and feedback to relevant clusters.

4. Behaviour Support Service

DM spoke briefly about the paper presented to GASH, which focused on the capacity of BSS to meet the needs of all schools. Would BIP be able to free up some of resources to non – BIP schools? Would BIP increase take up of BSS with resources they have i.e. pay for services? When will BIP best practice be disseminated to other schools?

4.1 In School Support Services

Option 1 Re-allocation of existing resources has been implemented.

Appendix 1 BIP Minutes and Steering Group Notes

Option 2 Increase total resources available via BIP, schools have moved slightly to this i.e. a voluntary contribution has been given. In future may contribute more. DM and CB committed to discuss the paper further with HTs. Has this been fed back to GASH?

In light of BIP and additionality it might be useful to ask HMI of their view of additionality.

4.3 Alternative Education

Although in line with the original BIP plan a coordinator to develop and monitor alternative provision hasn't been appointed, work has been undertaken on developing a coordinated approach to alternative education across the LEA. The database in Connexions needs to reflect BIP. There are issues regarding the registration of pupils on alternative packages as well as on quality and cost.

JP to report back to the next Steering Group on progress to date.

4.4 Inter School Arrangements

The BIP action plan outlines the dissemination of good practice to non- BIP schools during the next academic year.

5. Connexions

GB presented an outline of the work of Connexions within BIP schools, which included the work of Positive Activities for Young People (PAYP), additional support to schools, Ofsted feedback and the primary school pilot.

JP will discuss with LBP's the work of connexions at their next meeting. There is also a possibility of looking at BIP funding a Connexions PA with funding 2005/2006 – this will be discussed at a later Steering Group.

6. Exit Strategies

There is a need to organise a working group to begin to look at the current national agenda and the implication for BIP. This links in part to some of the work currently being undertaken already in the LEA i.e. Children's' Trust.

7. Targets

Appendix 1 BIP Minutes and Steering Group Notes

It was agreed that BIP targets would be included in the Annual Progress Reviews undertaken by inspectors with schools. JP will provide inspectors with copies of BIP targets for each school.

9. Capacity of Staff to Fulfil Roles

BIP has progressed and developed over the past year and roles and responsibilities have also developed. There needs to be an awareness that all people involved including LBP's, BEST Co, BIP Co are undertaking substantial amounts of work involved in the programme. This will be discussed with LBP's and BEST Co at their meeting with the BIP Co.

10. AOB

Website – steering group members are invited to see the BIP website on 28th October at 4.00.

EIC – The BIP Co has developed a peer review self-assessment document alongside other EIC Strand Co-ordinators. This document has been given to BEST Co and LBP's and will be used as a basis for the next assessment with our account manager JA.

Bullying – AD spoke about the national anti-bullying programme offered to the LEA from the Rowntree Group he will link with JP.

11. Time of Next Meeting

25th November room 10 Dryden 3.30 – 5.30 pm

**Minutes of the
BIP Steering Group Meeting
held on Tuesday 5th July 2004
3.30pm – 5.30pm
at Dryden PDC**

1. Present

[REDACTED]

Apologies

[REDACTED]

2. Minutes from Previous Meeting

[REDACTED] asked the group if there were any issues arising from the previous minutes. The group discussed this briefly and confirmed that the minutes were a correct record.

[REDACTED] briefed the group with information regarding a BIP HMI visit that will take place week commencing 6th December 2004.

3. BIP Co-ordinators Report

[REDACTED] had previously submitted a lengthy co-ordinators report and summarised the 14 recommendations from this report for the group to agree. The group agreed to the recommendations in principal with the following points raised: -

- Recommendation 1 – Approval of the Action Plan – The group discussed this further and agreed to the plan. It was agreed that progress would be monitored through the steering group.
- Recommendation 2 – Legal Aspects of Day 1 Provision- The group discussed this and agreed that Head Teachers must inform governing bodies of the arrangements for Day 1 Provision and obtain formal agreement at a full governing body meeting with a minuted record of discussion taken as a record of the agreement.

Steering Group

Role of the Steering Group

The role of the BIP Steering Group is to:

- Be accountable for the Behaviour Improvement Programme's expenditure
- Be accountable for the overall work of the Behaviour Improvement Programme
- Encourage and develop links between BIP and other relevant agencies including education, health, social services, Children's Fund, voluntary agencies and other relevant services
- Monitor the progress of the programme against its goals
- Review the goals of the programme on a regular basis
- Review the project plan on a regular basis

Membership of the Steering Group

- Education
 - Senior Inspector Secondary (chair)
 - Headteacher representation from the secondary school and 1 primary school in each cluster
 - Head of Access and Inclusion
 - SEN/Inclusion Inspector
 - BIP Coordinator
- Health
- Social Services
- Police
- Youth Offending Team
- Children's Fund
- Connexions

Meetings

- The steering group will meet once per term, although additional meetings can be held with the agreement of steering group members
- The meetings will be quorate if there is 40% of the members present at the start of the meeting
- In the event a vote is needed, decisions will be determined by a majority of members present, through a show of hands, each member shall exercise one vote.
- In the event a representative has been asked to attend the meeting in lieu of a member of the steering group, they will need to be able to make decisions on behalf of the member they are representing.

Appendix 1 BIP Minutes and Steering Group Notes

Actions

Following on from the steering group of the 30th March 2004 and the External Evaluator Report the following actions were agreed for the Steering Group

- Reassess and/or reaffirm the original aims and objectives of the programme
- Commission a Development and Implementation Plan from the BIP Coordinator for the next two years
- Consideration should be given to enhancing the dissemination and communication potential within the Programme
- Consider the criteria upon which to allocate any future funding in BIP which better reflect the potential demand on services in each cluster

Appendix 1 BIP Minutes and Steering Group Notes

Local Management Group (1 per cluster)

The role of the local management group

The role of the local management group is to provide a cluster focus in

- Identifying cluster needs, resources and gaps in current provision
 - Initially through the KS3 and Primary Behaviour and Attendance audit
- Preparing and agreeing an action plan for the development of the various strands of BIP within their cluster including:
 - Day 1 Provision
 - BEST
 - LBP
 - Attendance
 - Training
- Preparing and agreeing an expenditure plan for the use of BIP funds within each cluster
- Monitoring and reviewing cluster targets on attendance, unauthorized absences and exclusions with the BIP Coordinator
- Monitoring and reviewing the progress of the various strands of BIP including BEST, LBPs, Day 1 Provision and Attendance with the BIP Coordinator
- Identifying and sharing good practice within the cluster and with other clusters

Membership of the local management group

- Headteachers (if/when needed)
- Lead Behaviour Professionals-primary and secondary (1 from each school in the cluster)
- BEST Coordinator
- BIP Coordinator
- Other initiatives as/when needed i.e. EWS, BSS, KS3 B+A Consultant

Meetings

- The local management group will meet every 1/2 term, although additional meetings can be held with the agreement of group members as/when needed
- The meetings will be quorate if there is 40% of the members present at the start of the meeting
- A chairperson will be elected, serving in accordance with the cluster's wishes
- The venue for meetings will be decided in each cluster
- In the event a vote is needed, decisions will be determined by a majority of members present, through a show of hands, each member shall exercise one vote.
- In the event a representative has been asked to attend the meeting in lieu of a member of the group, they will need to be able to make decisions on behalf of the member they are representing

Appendix 1 BIP Minutes and Steering Group Notes

Actions

Following on from the steering group of the 30th March 2004 and the External Evaluator Report the following actions were agreed for the Local Management Group:

- All schools involved in BIP (including those not mentioned in the original proposal to the DfES) need to show their commitment to the Programme by entering into the same monitoring and target setting regime
- Develop an action plan for the development of BIP within their cluster including:
 - LBPs
 - Day 1 Provision
 - Aims and implications to parents/pupils/schools/voluntary groups/etc
 - Ethos for the provision
 - Provision for primary pupils
 - Correct balance of provision for primary pupils
 - Focus on reintegration
 - Maintaining contact with excluded pupils and school
 - Sustainability
 - Exploring the possibility of securing rather than making provision
 - Enhancing provision by the purchase of advice from LEA Services
 - Quality issues need to be at the forefront of whatever model of provision is adopted
 - BEST
 - Further appointments to the teams should conform to the Authorities code of practice on recruitment and offer opportunities for involvement in the process to all members of any partnership cluster
 - Priorities and focus of the systemic/group and individual work of the BEST in their clusters
 - Priorities for summer and holiday activities
 - Attendance targets
- Preparing and agreeing an expenditure plan for the use of BIP funds within each cluster including the use of funds for:
 - LBPs (primary and secondary)
 - Day 1 Provision
 - BEST
- Monitor and review cluster targets on attendance, unauthorized absences and exclusions with the BIP Coordinator
- Monitor and review of progress against the action plan

Appendix 2 Permission Request

TITLE OF PROJECT: Changing Hearts and Minds-Perceptions of a Multi-agency Team

Aims of the research is to explore the perceptions of a multi-agency team co-located within a secondary school setting and the school staff

The outcome of the research will be to report on the experiences and views of professionals working in a multi-agency team with respect to identified barriers to successful partnerships and the outcomes provided for children and young people.

*Please cross out
as necessary*

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and to discuss the study?

YES / NO

Have you received satisfactory answers to all of your questions?

YES / NO

Have you received enough information about the study?

YES / NO

Who have you spoken to?

Do you consent to participate in the study?

YES/NO

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study:

* at any time and

* without having to give a reason for withdrawing and

* without affecting your position?

YES / NO

Do you consent to the use of a tape recording during the interview?

YES / NO

(The tape recording will be used for recording purposes only and will not be shared or aired for any other purpose without additional consent being sought from the participant)

Signed **Date**

(NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS)

Behaviour and Education Support Team (BEST)

MINUTES

Thursday 17 May 2007

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1. Welcome & Review of Minutes 22/3/07

2. Referrals/Reviews/Updates

WWL: Pupil referral details (g/work) still needed - DN & LT to inform JF ASAP.

DN: Some group work sessions are now at an end. New groups at H Spen have been agreed and a meeting to confirm new groups at Highfield has been arranged for 5/6/07. Written details of group membership to be forwarded to JF ASAP.

JF & VH have made enquiries re the re-launch of Big Buddies - offers of support have not been taken up by LB.

H/gate: Request for the BEST to run a 'Make a difference week', focusing on 'Respect' and anti-bullying w/c 2/7/07. JF, VH & LT will meet on Tues 5/6/07 to plan this. LA, HoY & FTs will support this event via assemblies and FT time activities if the BEST can recommend some activities and provide resources.

3. Half term holiday arrangements

VH is accompanying staff and pupils on the French trip (Thurs 24 May, pm - Tues 29 May, pm). Due to staff absences, the other proposed activities for this week will be postponed, with the exception of the trip to Whickham Thorns on 30/5/07 pm, (VH & LT).

4. Active Kidz summer nominations/arrangements

JF requested additional nominations as places are still available for the under 8s, wk 2 and over 8s, wk 5. The BEST staff confirmed availability over the summer holidays:

Week	Under 8s	Over 8s
1	LT	VH
2	DN	LT
5		DN

JF will contact CL to discuss arrangements re summer school (request made to VH).

5. Additional hours log

JF asked if the team had any queries re outstanding hours - updated sheets requested from SB and TW.

6. AOB

JF: Copies of the ContactPoint Newsletters and Local Workforce Analysis sheet, Summer Holiday Programme and 'Spotlight' magazine are available to read in the magazine file.

Day 1 arrangements were discussed and agreed.

It is anticipated that the outcome of the government's spending review will be announced over the summer.

TW: A booklet from the CP course attended on 2/5/07 is available in the magazine file.

LT: A booklet from the Team Teach course attended on 15/5/07 is available in the magazine file. Laura recommended the course and described appropriate intervention and de-escalation techniques.

The team passed on their thanks, congratulations and good luck wishes to Kirsty - details of a farewell gathering will be confirmed ASAP.

Next meeting: Thursday 5 July 3.30 pm, Conference Room.

Behaviour and Education Support Team (BEST)

MINUTES

Thursday 4 October 2007

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1. Welcome & Review of Minutes 6/9/07

2. Referrals/Reviews/Updates

RGP: Meeting with school and parents (PB) on 9/10/07 - (SB)

H/gate: Yr 8 pupil (m) - VH

Yr 10 pupil (m) closure - VH

3. Half term holiday arrangements/activities

Tues 23 Oct - 15 young people invited to Sports Action van, Rowlands Gill - VH & SB

Wed 24 Oct - 15 young people invited to Whickham Thorns (orienteering) - VH & SB

Thurs 25 Oct, pm - Yr 11 student to be invited to M/centre - VH

£1.00 per student agreed for prizes.

TW will be in school Thurs 25/10 and Fri 26/10/07.

4. AOB

JF: Congratulations to DN on her new appointment at High Spen Primary school commencing 29/10/07 - Team farewell on Fri 26/10/07 (Time and venue TBC).

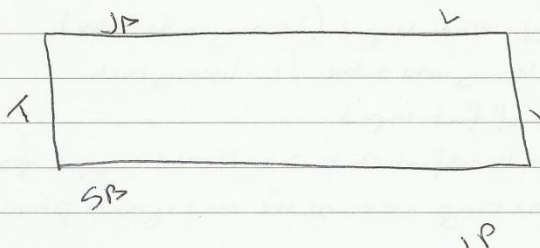
JF: Congratulations to VH on becoming an accredited Triple P practitioner. Proposals for sessions for Yr 7/8 parents will be agreed ASAP.

JF: Please check Day 1 timetable.

DN: The 'Play matters' course attended on 24/9/07 outlined some new games and ideas for after school clubs. The games pack that was provided at the course is now on the resources shelf and additional info can be found on the website www.natll.org.uk.

Next meeting: Thurs 8/11/07, 3.30 pm, Meeting room.

Appendix 4 Notes of Observations

		13 Dec
	BEST Team Mtg	3:30
		studied s/w - L chair
JF		LBP - AL chair
L		
V		
T		
SB		
		
	JF chair	
	biscuit, coffee, water	
	general chatter before hand	
	T, V, L, S provided feedback	
	T on attendance form / were done replies	
	S provide update - others listening, focusing on her, others input additional info as and when needed	
	L some work closing because end of the term	
	Jay - thank you	
	- holiday arrangements	
	the laughter as others input time about holiday arrangements	
	laughter asking for info	
	relaxed - leaning back, no crossed arms, leaning in to	
	listen - side chatter	
	- triple P proposal - update (47 and up teenage behaviour/pass 46?)	
	V - input info with laughter	
	S - ask questions matter of fact V replied	
	L - leaning back arms crossed - input to discuss w	

open, friendly body language - feeling each other, no crossed arms / legs
laughter, easy flowing language
eye contact made when people talk
no talking over others, waiting until others finish

AOB

- T-no
- S-no lots of praise & laughter
- V-thought then input (leaning in to table)
T, S, V leaning into table / L- leaning back
S matter of fact input
- L good breakfast club mentioned support from T
- S - phone ring - excuse me and ignores phone

JF

^{up to date}
time sheets requested by ME (business manager) - 15

laughter L gave her view on what is wanted with some input from S

V talking over JF but stopped, waited and then spoke again

JF volunteered BESO do put up a display at attendance

T asking questions about what is wanted with JF

V, L laughter and input to conversation

display - what resources do people want - L yes

laughter

Appendix 5 Original and Supplementary Questions

Interview Questions-Changing Hearts and Minds-Perceptions of a Multi-agency Team			
Area of Responsibility	Gender	Age	
Questions			
Define multi-agency (A)			
1. How would you define the term 'multi-agency' in our agency team?			
What makes the professional team? (B)			
2. What is your role/responsibility in the team?			
3. What professional knowledge and skills do you bring to the team? To the school?			
4. What is your experience of sharing these skills and knowledge within the team? With the school?			
5. How has your knowledge and skills been used in the team? In the school?			
6. What has supported you in using your knowledge and skills in the team? In the school?			
7. What has constrained you in using your knowledge and skills in the team? In the school?			
8. How do you see the relationship between the team and the school?			
9. What do you think of co-locating the team in a secondary school?			
10. Is there anything else you would like to say?			
What makes the professional team? (B)			
11. Best experience			
12. Worst experience			
13. Ethos			
14. Training			
Sharing skills (C)			
15. What has helped you?			
16. What has hindered you?			
17. Has it made a difference being in a school as oppose to centrally located? If so... why?			
What makes the professional team? (B)			
18. What training did you have to undertake? How many years have you been doing this role? Philosophy/ethos			
19. Have there been benefits? If so what are they? Have there been weaknesses? If so what are they?			
20. What are your responsibilities			
What makes the professional team? (B)			
21. What makes you say that?			
22. Could you elaborate please?			
23. What exactly do you mean? Give me an example? Tell me a bit more about....			
24. What happened after that?			
What makes the professional team? (B)			
25. Let me see if I have got things in the right order?			
26. Retracting back....			
What makes the professional team? (B)			
27. I don't see how those things join up?			

16 language barriers
15 thresholds

Appendix 5a Original and Supplementary Questions

Interview Questions

How would you define the term 'multi-agency' in multi-agency team?

What is your role/responsibility in the team?

What professional knowledge and skills do you bring to the team? To the school?

What is your experience of sharing these skills and knowledge within the team?
With the school

How has your knowledge and skills been used in the team? In the school?

What has supported you in using your knowledge and skills in the team? In the school?

What has constrained you in using your knowledge and skills in the team? In the school?

How do you see the relationship between the team and the school?

What do you think of co-locating the team in a secondary school?

Is there anything else you would like to say?

Supplementary Questions

What training qualifications have lead you to do the job you are doing?

What is the ethos of being a (social worker, teacher, youth worker, attendance officer)? Is there a different way of working as a teacher, youth worker etc?

Have there been any times when you have thought there have been issues when others haven't thought there were problems e.g. issues of thresholds?

(Threshold here is defined as that point where something becomes a cause for concern for one person-but perhaps isn't a concern for others)

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

Transcription of interview with LBP on Friday the 26th October 2007 11:00 am , age 59

I need to know your areas of responsibilities, just give me a couple of words Don't don't just give me your title is what I want.... **Inclusion, title Assistant headteacher, so it is as broad as inclusion counts inclusion and any specific strand** how long have you been in your current post **6 years**

How would you define the term 'multi-agency'? **Well in a school it is just to easy to be from a non teaching background and other professionals.....**

.....
....

ok do you think the terms multi-agency and interagency are the same?

Interagency could just be.....

.....
.....

What about the terms partnership and collaboration as being the same? **No I think collaboration could be working together, partnership is shared goals, probably partnership, shared goals aspect of it, I would never say just look at that partnership working but if you if I was thinking about the definition I would see that I would say they work more towards being shared work more yeh if it is real working perfection, the way it has evolved a bit with time and funding I think when we started, if when we sat down and started and thought about what does this cluster need *it needs* a multi-agency team *which then* evolved into *the BEST and***

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

then the funding changed because of the nature of the short term and also the contract the harder they are to replace...so are you saying that although the principle is multi-agency, less multi- *with* different types of professions...**in the beginning we had representatives from a range of agencies we probably have the got same access to those professions now through links and contacts rather than through specific posts** but if you think of the people **now** are you saying that they do not reflect as wide a range of professionals **no not they don't um we don't have school health representative um but you could say we have social services representative because we do have the student social worker, we have a youth worker a family worker who hasn't ever been a teacher and that's that's the person who lots of other, gets other people involved** you also have Joy I would **always say Joy is education** so you define professional, perhaps profession perhaps should be a field representative who comes from somewhere that sits outside of education **yes or alongside or..so a learning mentor, if a multi-agency team had a learning mentor you wouldn't class that as multi professionals because they all come under education... yeh and learning mentors work within schools systems but somebody who comes from school health or social services or with triple p training or I think brings not schools systems so is it , so is it...education welfare as well...so is it someone who is able to bring a different perspective...yeh, yeh, with different skills, we have had people who have tried to work with the school before who are from such a different angle that it was hard to find a way to work together, schools aren't free agents so many restraints are placed on us that that restricts the way we work sometimes I think that makes it hard for other agencies to work...**I'll leave that because I think what I want to ask you will come later

I could give you an example, ok give me an example **the children's project were involved in youth work in highfiled and one particular person who was working with one of our students and couldn't see why we couldn't do this and that with the**

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

students because they were looking at it from *their* point of view where schoolwere fitting the child in with everything elsehelp that child could not be a true individual, so are you saying in order to look at the issues they bring their own view point and their own perceptions but then through democracy I suppose bring the greatest benefit for the greatest....and look at ideally I would do that but in this context I would ...*they bring* a different view point that then would allow you to make a broader analysis of the....yeh because there will always be something that you haven't thought of

What is your role/responsibility in the team?

Heh, heh, heh alright then elaborate then, I think my responsibility in that team is probably first to make sure that it operates inclusively that all of our students have access equal to what they need ...and fair according to need and I think it is being strategic, working in....listening to people about what their needs are, a monitoring role and I am accountable to the Head for it all as well

What professional knowledge and skills do you bring to the team?

Years of experiencesabout the different skills, skills leadership I think and management, knowledge would be, I suppose I think I know how to gather the views directions.....probably stand back and assess yourself.....We can look at it another way, what professional knowledge ...do you bring the same knowledge and skills to the team or do you bring to the team the knowledge of the school...probably now I have got a crisis because I think what skills and knowledge do I have ha, ha, ha, ha ha I suppose given given how the team ...although some of them will have had to a large extent they sit outside the school....I am the go between is that what you bring to the team, you bring the systems, you bring the knowledge you know the school yeh yeh , you

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

know how it works, you know the systems **I am quite I think what I am quite good at doing is adapting school to allow these people to work in it and encouraging those people to adapt so that they can work within the school ...so yes it is the cross over but is is also something about spotting need as well em right it looks as though this kind of feeling , developing in our population we need somebody in school in a position with that can that kind of strategic....so you have some kind of overview, almost involved in the initial identification of need yeh yeh or areas, yeh and then working out how to respond to it**

What is your experience of sharing these knowledge what are the benefits are there has it been plain sailing within the team?

Have there been benefits, **I think it has been a very good team but I think joys role in holding this this together shouldn't be underestimated I think Joys ...** but this is your perception not about but I will ask the same questions of joy

What I am interested in knowing whether or not... you said early on that sometimes you bring people together in a team they have to be reflective, they have to appreciate and I suppose what these questions are trying to do is to find out from your perspective what has been your experience in sharing this and and so has this been easy, if you have had the social work student and the health visitor from your perspective has has it been easy to have these discussions have you found that there have been positives in your position within the school within the team, have there been areas of weaknesses **I think it has been challenging, challenging for I say for me but I really mean the school because I am representing the school challenging for us for me and the school whatever, to accept other people because teachers basically.... That's been challenging and change the way of working in the school to accept other peoples expertise and that whole process has been challenging, I also think it has been challenging for people who are not from inside, to work out how things operate within school and that has been quite challenging so those people don't feel**

deskilled and that they are operating in ways that they don't want and that they can still feel that they can still come so that has been the balancing actif those have been the challenges than what have been the benefits for doing it?

Better deal for all of the young people there must be benefits to the school because attendance is better, exclusions are down therefore support is better or is more effective that is your hard measure um the multi-agency team what benefits do they have working with us I always think that we are what what I was going to ask is how has your knowledge and skills we talked about how what you have done do you feel do you see yourself as having an identified role....not really because I do manage a team of heads of year, and learning *mentors* I manage a big team in the school and I think that I would bring the same skills to managing BEST that I do to that....** There is a subtle difference between managing *staff within school and managing BEST* tounderstanding what they are doing, understanding what their needs are, to be intone with *the needs of* .the multi-agency team for all you are still managing it, it will have very different *needs*, it won't have grown from inside, will you, so you are almost to some extent as everyone in the team is....everyone in the team, almost from an outside perspective so you could actually argue differently, I don't know if they are...but you will come at it from a different perspective even though it is management on doesn't necessarily have to have the *same* background of a multi-agency team **no not the same strength is it really but if it is about me I think I have decision making skills and that is what BEST come to me for and to check with me that things are within school systems those things transfer that is using my expertise and experience in the same way as the heads of year it might be with different topics and different fields kind of skills****

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

What has supported you in and the other question is what has constrained you in using your knowledge and skills

I am going to ask you both those questions....**I actually think, if you think wider I actually think that one of the strengths of the whole thing has been four schools in it together and four quite like minded individuals it has to be and you know um so that in setting up the multi-agency and knowing and in knowing how to go alongside each other school systems and other systems I think it has always been useful to have a reference point would have to be our group, with you in it as well the four schools and you....so it is having external support...shared expertise...there is nobody in school in exactly the same position as the lead professional it was very useful to be able to talk to each another and you shared difficulties and successes and strategies** there is a value in being able to have peer support, provided by people who are *in a similar position* **yeh yeh....**

What have been the difficulties? **Lack of stability and people moving on because it has been a short, fixed term not a short term project and of course people see.....I feel it has been particularly difficult this last term with people like Dawn going now the project but I feel that has been quite hard to manage because we are offering BIP and BEST are offering within our cluster a service and it is now not always the same because people within the team are changing, it is good, it can be good, if the primary schools if they are looking for one particular type of support and that has been taken away then it is more difficult so that has been a challenge um um I would loved to have keep all of our first teamtruly multi-agency....outside factors driving it, external factors what is there, is there anything about the makeup of the team *that has proved difficult....different professional brought together that have either provided been positive or been negative the positive has to be people from outside education working with people who have broaden everybody's***

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

horizon, it is not just, that has to be the positive, the down side could now and then a bit of friction and the restrictions in the amount of time and that is lessons and access and access to students...extrapolate that further and suppose in a broad sense, different context bringing cultures together a culture and a way of working that is almost new, it don't you you are a teacher and by virtue of being a teacher working in the school you know the systems you know that you can pull children at certain times you don't pull children away of literacy lessons but maybe a PHSE lesson yeh yeh you know you can pull children out of this you can take children out of that you understand just like I am assuming if you are a health professional you know that there are certain things you can curtail and other things..... by bringing different agencies together there are a clash of cultures yeh yeh but there is but there has to be a compromise between the business of a school and accessing people within a school do you think then *BEST* has had an impact on how quickly *things have changed* because they have been confronted with them and almost become part to some extend they have almost become part of the system of the school yeh yeh which has fostered transition or easier dialog between schools I think it has fostered the dialogue it hasn't resolved the issues necessarily there are still issues about, for example people in the *BEST* team wanting to be busy all the time with students and that isn't always possible because students are busy themselves with something else I think that has been a learning curve um I think the location of the *BEST* has been absolutely super because it allows quick and easy access that wouldn't happen elsewhere and I also think that it is good because professionals who are working with young people are branching out how do you then seewhat do you mean I just think it is seamless we will continue to offer that level of support do you see it apart from the school or a part of the school I see it very much a part of what we offer for the whole cluster oh yeh yeh it would be the samedon't think we would we would see how other agencies and we would have...students.....it is sometimes on demand for referrals and emergencies

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

Of is there anything else you want to add

no there isn't

2nd Transcription of interview with LBP after she has read for corrections to 1st transcript

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How would you define the term 'multi-agency'? **representatives from all services involved with the young people in our care, including the school**

ok do you think the terms multi-agency and interagency are the same?

Interagency could just be between some agencies leaving out others, multi-agency infers all

What about the terms partnership and collaboration as being the same? **No I think collaboration could be working together, partnership is shared goals, probably partnership, shared goals aspect of it, I would never say just look at that partnership working but if you if I was thinking about the definition I would see that I would say they work more towards being shared work more yeh if it is real working perfection, the way it has evolved a bit with time and funding I think when we started, if when we sat down and started and thought about what does this cluster need *it needs* a multi-agency team *which then* evolved into *the BEST* and *then the* funding changed because of the nature of the short term and also the**

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

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that although the principle is multi-agency, less multi- *with* different types of professions...**in the beginning we had representatives from a range of agencies we probably have the got same access to those professions now through links and contacts rather than through specific posts** but if you think of the people **now** are you saying that they do not reflect as wide a range of professionals **no not they don't um we don't have school health representative um but you could say we have social services representative because we do have the student social worker, we have a youth worker a family worker who hasn't ever been a teacher and that's that's the person who lots of other, gets other people involved** you also have Joy **I would always say Joy is education** so you define professional, perhaps profession perhaps should be a field representative who comes from somewhere that sits outside of education **yes or alongside or**..so a learning mentor, if a multi-agency team had a learning mentor you wouldn't class that as multi professionals because they all come under education... **yeh and learning mentors work within schools systems but somebody who comes from school health or social services or with triple p training or I think brings not schools systems** so is it , so is it...**education welfare as well**...so is it someone who is able to bring a different perspective...**yeh, yeh, with different skills, we have had people who have tried to work with the school before who are from such a different angle that it was hard to find a way to work together, schools aren't free agents so many restraints are placed on us that that restricts the way we work sometimes I think that makes it hard for other agencies to work**...I'll leave that because I think what I want to ask you will come later

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Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

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Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

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What has supported you in and the other question is what has constrained you in using your knowledge and skills

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

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What have been the difficulties? **Lack of stability and people moving on because it has been a short, fixed term not a short term project and of course people see.....I feel it has been particularly difficult this last term with people like Dawn going now the project but I feel that has been quite hard to manage because we are offering BIP and BEST are offering within our cluster a service and it is now not always the same because people within the team are changing, it is good, it can be good, if the primary schools if they are looking for one particular type of support and that has been taken away then it is more difficult so that has been a challenge um um I would loved to have keep all of our first teamtruly multi-agency....outside factors driving it, external factors what is there, is there anything about the makeup of the team *that has proved difficult....different professional brought together that have either provided been positive or been negative the positive has to be people from outside education working with people who have broaden everybody's horizon, it is not just, that has to be the positive, the down side could now and then a bit of friction and the restrictions in the amount of time***

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

and that is lessons and access and access to students...extrapolate that further and suppose in a broad sense, different context bringing cultures together a culture and a way of working that is almost new, it don't you you are a teacher and by virtue of being a teacher working in the school you know the systems you know that you can pull children at certain times you don't pull children away of literacy lessons but maybe a PHSE lesson **yeh yeh** you know you can pull children out of this you can take children out of that you understand just like I am assuming if you are a health professional you know that there are certain things you can curtail and other things..... by bringing different agencies together there are a clash of cultures **yeh yeh but there is but there has to be a compromise between the business of a school and accessing people within a school** do you think then *BEST* has had an impact on how quickly *things have changed* because they have been confronted with them and almost become part to some extend they have almost become part of the system of the school **yeh yeh** *which* has fostered transition or easier dialog between schools **I think it has fostered the dialogue it hasn't resolved the issues necessarily there are still issues about, for example people in the BEST team wanting to be busy all the time with students and that isn't always possible because students are busy themselves with something else I think that has been a learning curve um I think the location of the BEST has been absolutely super because it allows quick and easy access that wouldn't happen elsewhere and I also think that it is good because professionals who are working with young people are branching out** how do you then see**what do you mean I just think it is seamless we will continue to offer that level of support** do you see it apart from the school or a part of the school **I see it very much a part of** what we offer for the whole cluster oh yeh yeh it would be the samedon't think we would we would see how other agencies and we would have...students.....it is sometimes on demand for referrals and emergencies

Of is there anything else you want to add

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

no there isn't

2nd Interview with LBP on Tuesday the 26th of may 2009,

so can you describe what an ethos of being a teacher is

Can i talk about it historically as being an imparter of knowledge and i think over the time i have been in teaching once imparting knowledge well but now it is headlining helping children learn so the caring side, the ethos is help children prepare for learning

What qualifications, what formal qualifications do you have

From post 16, post 18? Yeh

Um i did a cert ed course where my main subjects were physics, chemistry andin education, i then taught for two years and went back and did a degree and then taught for a few more years and then did a certificate ini did a masters in education and then finally i did a NPQH

How did you move into the pastoral, with a qualification or

No i , was it a desire? No if felt it was more of an opportunity to put more of my stamp on school really i felt i could have an impact and there was a gap in the school

.....that people learning towards pastoral rather than a different subject have more of a learn towards

Personally i feel i could have gone either way and i feel that there were various points later on when I could have gone either way i think i could have done head of dept and i think heads of year in my school currently have done either yes they could have, i am not saying could have gone on and on but at that stage at meddle management level, i don't think departments are without care

Have you had any issues, we are thinking now in your role as lead behaviour professional have you ever had any issues where you felt that when you have dealt with other professionals that thresholds have been different, that you have felt that there have been issues and you don't? I am thinking of your delaing with professional and your dealing with the team, we are going back a

Appendix 6 Transcription of 1st Person Interviewed (LBP)

while but I am thinking of different professionals in the BEST team? Have there been times when you thought there have been issues and they haven't or they have and you haven't

Undoubtedly yes, usually it has involved out of school, something that is happening or has happened to the family that I would say isn't the schools directly impact, there have been issues that way, where professionals have wanted to become involved and I have said hang on a minute there may be other professional involved, in particular where I am feeling very frustrated because professionals

Think back to when this was more, probably when there was the BEST team

Well I am talking about the BEST team where the professionals were representing the

How were things resolved

They weren't resolved in the way I would have liked to have them resolved but you always find a solution, there is always a way around, it isn't always the most direct and sometimes not the highest impact

Do you think the team makeup if it had continued, do you think by having a multi-agency team that eventually

I am sure it would have signs were there it was happening, there are always teething problems and we were getting better at choosing and training

Do you think it is difficult, difficult for the multi-agency teams to work in school or was it easy for them

No I think it was a big learning curve because a school environment, it is like peeping into any institutionlearning curve getting use to it

Appendix 7 Transcription of 3rd Person Interviewed (YPFSW)

Transcription of interview with young people and family support worker at 10:45 am on the 23rd November 2007 in the Inclusion Centre

Just really briefly what is your title?

young people support worker young people and family support worker um in Hookergate school

ok um how would you define the term multi-agency in multi-agency team?

Um in about the difference that I have seen that I would class multi-agency I would say ..who as people who work for different agencies who come together for a common common purpose so something like the amber panel where there are people from the police and one from social services and somebody from a school somebody from maybe the best team, youth um a working together to try and provide a service or um a framework for that young person so nobody is working for the same team all of the time they have um a dept or a job to do and they come together to so do they all then so are they all based in the same place or do they go back to their homes so to speak their home professions and then the way that I would look at it yeh that is fine they would go back to do their jobs so they would go back to social services they would go back to BEST or they would go back todevelopment so they would work as part of a team a wider team that um link together services for young people ok but um they they all work for a different agency ok but ...so what do you see as the difference between multi-agency and interagency or is there a difference um I would say that they are very similar ..the professional multi-professional yeh yeh that there would be

multiprofessional teams which I would think are a team that have been working together more consistently than a multi-agency team so that they are together all of the time so they have one common base one central base but everybody has a different background a different specialism a different knowledge but they work for a team so they would be multi-professional, multi-agency team would be multi-professional as well but they would go back to their own teams at the end of the day so what do you class this and so the interagency –interprofessional differs how um it depends whether you called it a team or whether you called it working ok so interagency working would be maybe shorter term or one offs or a number of sessions but over a longer term over a longer period of time I would work with them but not...that wouldn't be possible..... you would class that as working because as agencies we would probably get together for a shorter period ok so what is...there is no right or wrong here..ok ha ha ha..there is definitely no right or wrong I am interested in what people ok think ok so would you say that part..do you see partnership working and collaboration as the same thing or do you see them as being different ...or.....or would you see partnership, collaborative, interagency all interchangeably yeh whereas you would see multi as yeh slightly wider yeh with more people ok involved ok ok

so what are your areas , what are your areas of responsibility for the team yeh umso do you just work within Hookergate or within the primaries as well?

I work with the primaries as well for the parents support in any school so I go in in partnership with the school nurse um we do it together so I would come in and we make our selves known to the staff ...so it is a very informal meeting with parents then with parents themselves....regular contact with

parents and then they are responsible and give them some other strategies...so then in Hookergate you work for working with young people, **young people yeh so we do a number of different topics ...relationships and new one to one support so young people's health care problems with the so um anything hahas that the school requires me to do yeh yeh that fine so talking on the role of looking at the holidays what events are available so that we can support young people and we are going chopwell there is an area there then in chopwell where we can go and meet ..so you don't just work the Monday to Friday no hahahahto 4:00 whatever teachers work no no I like to see what else is on and support what haha**

what professional knowledge and skills do you bring to the team, what background training lead you to come and work

youth work skills, working with young people building that relationship with them understanding the problems that they face on a daily support to overcome that ..do you get specific training to be a youth worker yeh yeh what led what leads you to become a youth worker um a lot of people become um youth workers because of their own experiences um of the youth services because the youth service has given them something has given them and opportunity give them the chance ..possibility...within the youth service...I don't think that they ..skills to learn but I think they are something that I have developed through work with the young people ..am I right in thinking it sounds to me what you are saying is that there is a skills base yeh yeh and I am assuming that there is a training qualification yeh yeh that you do but also that there is an underlying passion yeh yeh in what you do to work with those young people and provide opportunities yeh yeh so it is not a job it is a professional in that you come

Appendix 7 Transcription of 3rd Person Interviewed (YPFSW)

to it because you you you want to do it yeh yeh it also brings the knowledge of government outcomes and targets that we are all trying to...so do you think that your professional knowledge gives you a particular view or a yeh a particular point of view when you sit as a team and you are actually talking do you feel that you that your youth work background gives you a different perspective when you are actually sitting there talking around the table talking as a the team about children ..everybody's working towards the same outcome achieving, sometimes may be from a youth worker purpose you can see maybe why maybe smaller things are important so a smaller activities so maybe like going to an event tomorrow why that would be important and what the benefits in taking part in a bunking bronco or um being able to have a buffet or go to a chocolate fountain something like that then um maybe professions don't see that because they work together higher in the bigger picture, maybe in our team trying to explain explain what you do and why you do it is quite difficult what is your experience then of sharing the knowledge and skills that you bring within the team

within this team here...positive I think they are interested in different views...you have mentioned that you see things think from the background that you bring you are able to understand why small things are important...so do you think there is a balance in the team where there are some people who might see a bigger picture and some people who see a smaller picture do you think that there is a balance between different people...**there is a yeh there is um a good relationship there to work together and um to um provide opportunities for young people to achieve the outcomes, so that the activities we have put on I don't know if everybody has seen why why we are doing that but when you**

come back and explain what happened when we were there then people are willing to take that on board and we come up with different ideas so then we did more smaller activities rather the trying to plan bigger activities and everybody is working together to do you think do you think, I am interested in the relationship between the team I am interested in how in how you interact **ok ok** you have talked about you and the benefits of the small bits ok ok and other people now do you feel that that that the team works well in that way I mean or do you feel that your view that your knowledge and skills you input to the team is I don't want to say valued but do you think that it works collectively or do you think that some people have more of an opinion or some people have less of an opinion do you think it matters whether or not you are a youth worker or a...officer **no I don't think so in this team we all see the skills that everybody else has and we we use them we ask other people for their opinions and input and we use them totoday I have gone to see a child who I was perhaps unsure of working with, I wasn't sure what tools I could use to bring out the best in that child and I asked somebody else and they gave me things that they'd used so that I'd done a lot of group work with..... and other members of the team hadn't done that and we worked together in partnership within the team to do that and she brought skills and knowledge that she had on her parts of group work and I brought the skills of working withand we wrote a programme together and we delivered skills**

it ok what...the question is how has your knowledge and skills been used

to build up a relationship with young people in Hookergate and everybody knows who we are and everybody knows everybody I would say everybody knows me but

Appendix 7 Transcription of 3rd Person Interviewed (YPFSW)

I would say then that they know our team well , providing positive activities **do you think your knowledge and skills have been used** within the team because we are based within the school that there is quite a large cross over especially with the job that I do that the work that we do with the school and with the team it's the same work it's the same work that young people, students that we work with for example come from the school and come from...and they involve me in work that they are doing so I would say it is the same work **ok that fine**

what would you say has supported you using your knowledge and skills in the team other people that I work with **what is it about the other people** the way in which we work and maybe enable ask them for support and ask them their opinion and them asking me and them um being able to work together but also independently with with ideas **what enables you to do that** with supportwe have together and everybody coming back here and out and about we have that time to be able to meet and just to discuss what has happened in the day and what else we could.....

what has constrained you or have there been constraints..

being able to share my skills um as a youth working I think some of our work is much wider than what we are able to do within school not the school itself just the policies that ...you have to go to a different health drop in or to attend an event tomorrow and event for all of the young people to attend to get on a bus and go there and to have somebody to support them to do that is a quite a difficult process to go through but that's from education not from our school and I would

Appendix 7 Transcription of 3rd Person Interviewed (YPFSW)

what that's possibly ...being some of the work that we can do that has to be planned and so much notice given ...**so things that are constraining you or would have constrained you tomorrow is it the systems you would have to go through in order to do that** yes but not from this school in particular but just as is a as a youth worker in a school **so it is education per se yes the education systems yeh not the systems in this school yeh yeh so it would be in any school yeh with youth workers so sometimes youth work service does not sit comfortably alongside of education ...because the systems are not the same** and the ethos of the different different ways of working like everybody being individual and being able to do **you think um that there is a greater flexibility in youth work in youth work with the way that chil young people can may be behave and express how they are feeling** I wouldn't say that it is badly or to be rude to people but there is tolerance and um **so do you sorry** not that the school the team don't understand that but working within a school have to follow those rules that are in place so that other people don't copy and be and that as well hahahaha um more flexible within youth **do you think your constrained that as a professional working in schools and I understand what you are saying not ...this school in particular but schools generally that you are then are you constrained in the way that you can respond to to** a little bit um because we are here to make sure that they are learning here and we are unable to just remove them from that to solve that problem at that moment in time um and they are maybe unable to access us at anytime they want but there is an understanding that if they can't in with the problem they've got that that moment that we should know what's happening and we'd put on...**how do you see the relationship between the team** they know who we are and that they can approach us as part

Appendix 7 Transcription of 3rd Person Interviewed (YPFSW)

of the school....**what do you think of collocating the team in a secondary** with us being **as opposed to being located within a children's centre or located in**

Dryden or something like that I think it is definitely the best place although we've

got those constraints with timetable and you know people can access at any time

within reason we are obviously appropriatelythey can go back to ...they can

come when ever they want we've got that interagency working right there because

we are obviously working in the same place and if they are late for appointments-

come from.....some place elsethey are coming to one place they know

where they are phoning they know who they are talking to when we are together

...think that applies to schools....impact but how do you think being

collocated gives them a different view of what you do or the young people I

think we can built a relationship between us because we understand the way

school, then staff can make sure that the young people are involved in the class

and because we work in the school we can access and we can keep those

appointments moving all of the time so that people aren't missing rather than make

appointments through the school and that persons can't possible be

ok best worst experience of being part of the team

uhm hahaha um I think some of the best are maybe some of the activities we have

put together and I that was because of the different knowledge of different people

who could be involved and being able to work with other agencies as well and it is

part of what our team does although maybe at the end of the day work together

.....day one not just between our team but um

anything else

Appendix 7 Transcription of 3rd Person Interviewed (YPFSW)

2nd interview with young people and family support worker 25th march 2008

Ok happy with that - yes I have changed a little bit at the end uh huh clear but that is all

Do you mind if I ask you some other questions then

What i want to know is what training did you have to become a youth worker

Ok i um did the NVQ level 2 youth work course and then with that then there was training sexual health and young people training

So how long is the training

The course i did was over a year the nvq the sexual health and young people that was over an and then there are courses that added to your professional development like the child protection which was perhaps a one off

How long have you been doing youth work

Um about, in an actual youth work setting in a community centre about November 200.....so but before that i worked with leisure services so i use to work with young people in a.... and with outdoor activities so about 2 years before that

So that work in the leisure centre lead you to think ohyeh yeh ok

In your in the previous interview you talked a bit about the ethos you talked abit about being about the ethos of being a youth worker and the way of working can you explain a bit more what you mean by that

By empowering young people to think for them selves by providing opportunities, life skills to enable them to solve problems for themselves

Do you see yourself as part of the team as being the pupil voice

Not necessarily as part of the teambut maybe as part of the school.....through things now through SEALchildren thorough the individualised timetable um working towards the curriculum its its slightly different

So you advocate for –sometimes yeh ..ok

I want to ask about thresholds and language issues, have you ever within the team and maybe to some extend within the school have you ever felt that there have been issues around the use of language that you use and other people maybe understanding or misunderstanding terms

I think that maybe when you explain things to other people youbits and term....we don't use much jargon that often

Let me ask you another question then - ok - when you are with the team when yoyu are with members of the school have there ever been times when you have felt that something

Appendix 7 Transcription of 3rd Person Interviewed (YPFSW)

has been an issue or other people haven't I am thinking I am using the term threshold here and i am thinking i am thinking defining threshold is the point where there is a cause for concern so you have had a concern or someone else has had a concern but the rest of the group has thought no that's not –i don't' see why the rest of the group is worried about it – have you ever been in that type of scenario

Sometimes but i think they help you they ask you clarifying questions to help you think if something needs to be done, it is always recorded even if you think

So you might have a difference of opinion or difference of concern within the team, there is a discussion takes place either helping you to clarify or find solutions to the problems or think of how to move

An ultimately we would once we sort of dine that we would we would probably decide as a team we would

Last thing-worst experience

Um I have changed that in my transcript and that it was about the day 1

Appendix 8 Coding-Groupings

How would you define the term 'multi-agency' in the term multi-agency team?

How would you define the term 'multi-agency'? *Representatives from all services involved with the young people in our care, including the school*
 a non-teaching background and other professionals

ok do you think the terms multi-agency and interagency are the same?
 Interagency could just be... *between some agencies learning out of each other*
Multi-agency is for all

What about the terms partnership and collaboration as being the same? No I think collaboration could be working together, partnership is shared goals, probably partnership, shared goals aspect of it, I would never say just look at that partnership working but if you if I was thinking about the definition I would see that I would say they work more towards being shared work more yeh if it is real working perfection, the way it has evolved a bit with time and funding I think when we started, if when we sat down and started and thought about what does this cluster need it needs a multi-agency team which then evolved into the BEST and then the funding changed because of the nature of the short term and also the contract the harder they are to replace... so are you saying that although the principle is multi-agency, less multi- with different types of professions... in the beginning we had

representatives from a range of agencies we probably have the got same access to those professions now through links and contacts rather than through specific posts but if you think of the people now are you saying that they do not reflect as wide a range of professionals no not they don't um we don't have school health representative um but you could say we have social services representative because we do have the student social worker, we have a youth worker a family worker who hasn't ever been a teacher and that's that's the person who lots of other, gets other people involved you also have Joy I would always say Joy is education so you define professional, perhaps profession perhaps should be a field representative who comes from somewhere that sits outside of education yes or alongside or... so a learning mentor, if a multi-agency team had a learning mentor you wouldn't class that as multi professionals because they all come under education... yeh and teacher

ok um how would you define the term multi-agency in multi-agency team?
 Um in about the difference that I have seen that I would class multi-agency I would say... who as people who work for different agencies who come together for a common common purpose (so something like the amber panel where there are people from the police and one from social services and somebody from a school somebody from maybe the best team, youth um a working together to try and provide a service or um a framework for that young person so nobody is working for the same team all of the time they have um a dept or a job to do and they come together to so do they all then so are they all based in the same place or do they go back to their homes so to speak their home professions and then the way that I would look at it yeh that is fine they would go back to do their jobs so they would go back to social services they would go back to BEST or they would go back to their department... development so they would work as part of a team a wider team that um link together services for young people ok but um they they all work for a different agency ok but... so what do you see as the difference between multi-agency and interagency or is there a difference um I would say that they are

very similar the professional multi-professional yeh yeh that there would be multiprofessional teams which I would think are a team that have been working together more consistently than a multi-agency team so that they are together all of the time so they have one common base one central base but everybody has a different background a different specialism a different knowledge but they work for a team so they would be multi-professional (multi-agency team) would be multi-professional as well but they would go back to their own teams at the end of the day so what do you class this and so the interagency - interprofessional differs how um it depends whether you called it a team or whether you called it working ok so interagency working would be maybe shorter term or one offs or a number of sessions but over a longer term over a longer period of time I would

1st interview
Partnership = shared goals
collaboration = work together
multi-agency is different = Director Model 1993
central base
work together but we based in their own professions
professional working with other agencies
interagency

comes from school health or social services or with triple p training or I think brings not schools systems so is it, so is it... education welfare as well... so is it someone who is able to bring a different perspective... yeh, yeh, with different skills. we have had people who have tried to work with the school before who are from such a different angle that it was hard to find a way to work together, schools aren't free agents so many restraints are placed on us that that restricts the way we work sometimes I think that makes it hard for other agencies to work... I'll leave that because I think what I want to ask you will come later

I could give you an example, ok give me an example the children's project were involved in youth work in highfield and one particular person who was working with one of our students and couldn't see why we couldn't do this and that with the students because they were looking at it from their point of view where schoolwere fitting the child in

with everything elsehelp that child could not be a true individual. so are you saying in order to look at the issues they bring their own view point and their own perceptions but then through democracy I suppose bring the greatest benefit for the greatest....and look at ideally I would do that but in this context I would ...they bring a different view point that then would allow you to make a broader analysis of the...yeh because there will always be something that you haven't thought of

agency with good side of the same together

different view point

numbers with + minus

numbers with + minus

multi - diff jobs (not necessarily same in value)

soon process relevant refer to context

How would you define the term 'multi-agency' in multi-agency team?

Lots of people working together, lots of teams working together for the benefit of the students in the school

Do you think the term multi-agency and inter-agency are the same

I have only heard of multi-agency not interagency I assume that they are the same

What would you include then in a multi-agency team?

As a HOY I work with a lot of agencies, BSS, EPS, springboard (fostering team) which I would define as multi-agency, as a collective they are a multitude of agencies therefore they are multi-agency

BEST is also multi-agency because they all have different jobs to do so for example vicki's job is working with the family, schools are also multi-agency because of their staff, including LM, TA

What about partnership and collaborative working are they the same or different?

Partnerships work well together, doing their best for a positive outcomes, collaboration might not be positive work

as working because as agencies we would probably get together for a shorter period ok so what is... there is no right or wrong here. ok ha ha ha there is definitely no right or wrong I am interested in what people ok think ok so would you say that part. do you see partnership working and collaboration as the same thing or do you see them as being different... or... or would you see partnership, collaborative, interagency all interchangeably yeh whereas you would see multi as yeh slightly wider yeh with more people ok involved ok ok

multi - me people in value

other ways used in teaching etc

multi - me people in value

- different backgrounds - accessibility (Scan - process related) me one result

- multi agency (many different agencies)

- interagency (BEST) - serves with a similar background (in this case education experiences)

- partnership or equal workloads

How would you define the term multi-agency in terms of a multi-agency team? umdefine the term a group of professionals from different backgrounds coming together to work as a team to provide that is more accessible and um there for the access of.....yeh yeh sorry/no

no do you think the term multi-agency and interagency are the same? No probably not ok that's what is the difference between multi-agency for example perhaps for education I would say that multi-agency is taking professionals from our situation um as opposed to taking people from different services from education social

services health and joining them together ok where as I might suggest that we were perhaps more interagency ok then why do you see yourself more as an interagency team? I think I know it was different in the past but currently I think that we are all from an education background ok but where as interagency... ok how do you define 'coming from an education background'? I... what each person... to the team most of our experiences have been linked within the education so your not so are you using as a reference point conditions of employment or employment background or and/or professional expertise and all of them I think obviously I recognise that I have other experiences as well as previous employment... we are employed as a team best has come about... all working as one aim... multi-agency team however I suppose we are more of a team as oppose to when I see other agencies work with people such as health workers... so if you had a school nurse on your team you would consider yourself to be multi-agency or more multi-agency yeh yeh or perhaps a... a police officer yeh yeh

Do you think the term partnership or collaboration or perhaps not the term but partnership and collaborative working are the same? Or do you see them? um I suppose by definition I would see partnership as... we collaborate on a piece of work or ideas... different measures

What do you think of collocating the team in a secondary school?

what do you think of

collocating the team in a secondary **with us being** as opposed to being located within a children's centre or located in Dryden or something like that I think it is definitely the best place although we've got those constraints with timetable and you **know people can access** at any time within reason we are obviously appropriately ...they can go back to...they can come when ever they want we've got that interagency working right there because we are obviously working in the same place and if they are late for

* Timetable within school is very important we need to respect this and work round it.

we can collect them? which wouldn't happen if we were here

appointments come from.....some place elsethey are coming to one place they know where they are phoning they know who they are talking to when we are together... think that applies to schools....impact but how do you think being colocated gives them a different view of what you do or the young people I think we can build a **relationship between us** because we understand the way school, then staff can make sure that the young people are involved in the class and because we work in the school we can access and we can keep those appointments moving all of the time so that people aren't missing rather than make appointments through the school and that persons can't possible be

BEST

- positive communication
- ownership
 - easy access { School → BEST
BEST → school }
 - easy follow-up
 - relationship / trust
 - pupils when threatening
 - staff
 - support to school staff (high level)
 - BEST - able to talk to staff to get information / knowledge
 - demystifying roles of team members (school see the difference)
 - staff awareness
 - if not colocated fewer children would be referred (because only SMT would know to ask for BEST)
 - relationships built up so challenge can occur
 - people in school know you will be there
 - negotiations
 - get drawn into other areas (not your core of work)

do you think that then does

that go anyway towards to some extent demystifying the roles of the team members you know if you've got different different professionals from different agencies involved in the team by collocating the team in the schools does that make it easier for school staff to have the roles demystified **yes yes I think the opportunities are there I think obviously because of the nature of the work load that teachers have** umhm there will obviously be some staff obviously who have more contact with team members than others who will have that appreciation but you know I think the fact is it's so accessible umhm that has to make it bet.... easier to demystify any conceptions that people have so then if being colocated in secondary school has been a positive what is the relationship with the primary schools **um I think with the primary schools its well its hard because it depends on each individual school so we've had a lot more input into some than in others and I think that's again perhaps linked to the person who is the LBP** um hum um taking the time to kind of develop the relationship and again getting to know the roles and and kind of the focus of work that the team can offer do you think we've talked about the fact of the team being colocated in the secondary school has had some positive impact on the perception of the team and referrals and communication being colocated in the secondary schools for the primary schools does that make a difference would it matter if you were colocated in a secondary school or sitting somewhere else does it does it does it matter in terms of the primary school since your not colocated yeh since you're not colocated on the primary school site **unhum I think for some it might have done it what way well I don't know you'd probably have to ask them ask them but I think**

possibility some some of them have put the relationship between you and the secondary as one and the same though they I I I don't know whether they've not made a distinction of the fact that were a multi-agency team offering you know offering a support service and and were colocated within you know with the secondary school as perhaps being I don't know within you know a team that is coming solely from the secondary school its ju..i just that that sometimes there was a perception that it was a service that the secondary school was offering rather than you know us as a multi agency team located here so for all by being located in a secondary school even if if secondary school staff have been enabled to

so what do you think about co locating you mentioned
that you were located on the site what do you think about collocating the team
I think it is a good idea I think sometimes we could get drawn into doing various things
um like what like dinner duties um tis and I know that joy has said look we can help
you if you are stuck lets be flexible you know if you really lets be flexible but actually
that will be a one off um I think there is always the temptation there to be it will be
alright there is always best whose available best and who can do this best and I think it
is kind of making a clear understanding of what our roles are and um where we will be
a little bit flexible ... and where um ah I think that has had to be clarified a bit a great
help...of course on the day

Um What do you think and I suppose it goes back to the question of where this centre is
located what do you think of collocating the team in a secondary school positive has it
negative would it be different if it was located somewhere else in Gateshead you know
you know sort of

I think having the team here...the young people in this school it is quite central to
primary schools.
the...from the school...it would make working with....

What about some school staff being co being located here do you think it would have
been any different for the school staff themselves if it was located somewhere else

Yeh I think if it wasn't located here the school staff wouldn't have the relationship
with the degree of support from the team that they do.
Do you think we have mentioned earlier that teachers in general only tend to think about

...do you think locating the team in the school has had any impact on ...

I mean we do it is usually the heads of year that refer children they are aware
maybe of the impact I imagine it has had an impact

Ok is there anything else that you want to add or say about the team and the multi
agency inter agencyness of it

I think it works really well actually I think having Ted here as well as having people
who work directly with the kids I think education welfare I think they do have quite
a good grasp of how social aspects obviously because they are going out to the
peoples houses I think it works quite well I think sometimes young people can
abuse it I think wander around and see what is going on and then using it for what
it...it is good to be able to talk because obviously I am quite new here so I haven't
got the knowledge of young people like Vicki and joy and lou have it is really good
to be able to talk to them about young people and

That's great that's great thank you

- kids can be seen
when around
- no differentiation from
primary between
school and BEST
(school representative)
- further who don't
know what BEST do
being categorized with
people (LM) and so

School

- accessibility and
speediness of support
and advice
(no issue of trying to
contact them and phone)

see a different roles and difference in the team it is almost the opposite some primary
schools haven't been able to see the difference in the team members and the different
roles because the whole thing has been encompassed in you belong to the secondary
school therefore your part of the secondary school or yes I mean I can't say because
it nothing has ever been said specifically but there is a feeling but I've yeh I have
had a feeling that sometimes perhaps I don't know whether they have seen it I
don't know not not as a service that has been directed for those you know
specifically to kind to support schools with their behaviour, attendance, emotional
well being you know yeh and for others perhaps it has worked more in a more
positive kind of way in that they have seen it as a way of supporting the transition
and communication between the pri...you know as a cluster so between the
primary and the secondary school

do you think there has been a difference having the team collocated here in the
secondary school to whether maybe to sitting outside sort of um based at either in the local
authority or based in a primary school or or based you know I am thinking based in a
community centre the fact that you that it is actually here has that made a difference

That has made a difference to me

So what's made the difference

Because its its accessibility its here there is always someone here from the team very
rarely do I go into the BEST office and there is no one from the BEST team there you
know and if someones somewhere else I know where to locate them so I know where
to find them so yes

But why is that so importance what is it about availability that is so important because if they
were located ten miles away they would be at the end of a phone unhuh why is

Because sometimes I need the support there and then

So it is the immediacy

Yeh immediately ok we have a situation where I need some advice and some support
immediately there is always someone there that I can I can call on

I mean I have other questions I
will go back to do you think then because the multi-agency teams is in school is co-located in
school do you think then that it would be different if the team wasn't located within the school
definitely so what is it about having the team here that its that extra support, time we
should have for them as teachers but there is always planning to do obviously when
you are doing a lesson I can go out and run after my form class around school if they
are in a bad mood and have walked out of the lesson I can't physically do it around 25
classrooms so for that they are fantastic, they know where they will be hiding, where
around school they will be and get them, I'll definitely have to give...then credit.

School

1st Supplementary question to main question ①

multi-agency and inter-agency

Diagram 2

AL: multi-agency info all

inter-agency - between some agencies leaving others out

CC: only heard of multi-agency =

- as a collective they are a multitude of agencies therefore they are 'multi-agency'
- BEST is multi-agency because they have different jobs to do
- Schools are multi-agency because of staff e.g. teachers, TA, LM

NM: multi-agency - gives us a wider agenda than inter-agency

inter-agency = based within school - LA ~~LA, NHS, Police, Fire~~

inter-agency ^{includes health SS}

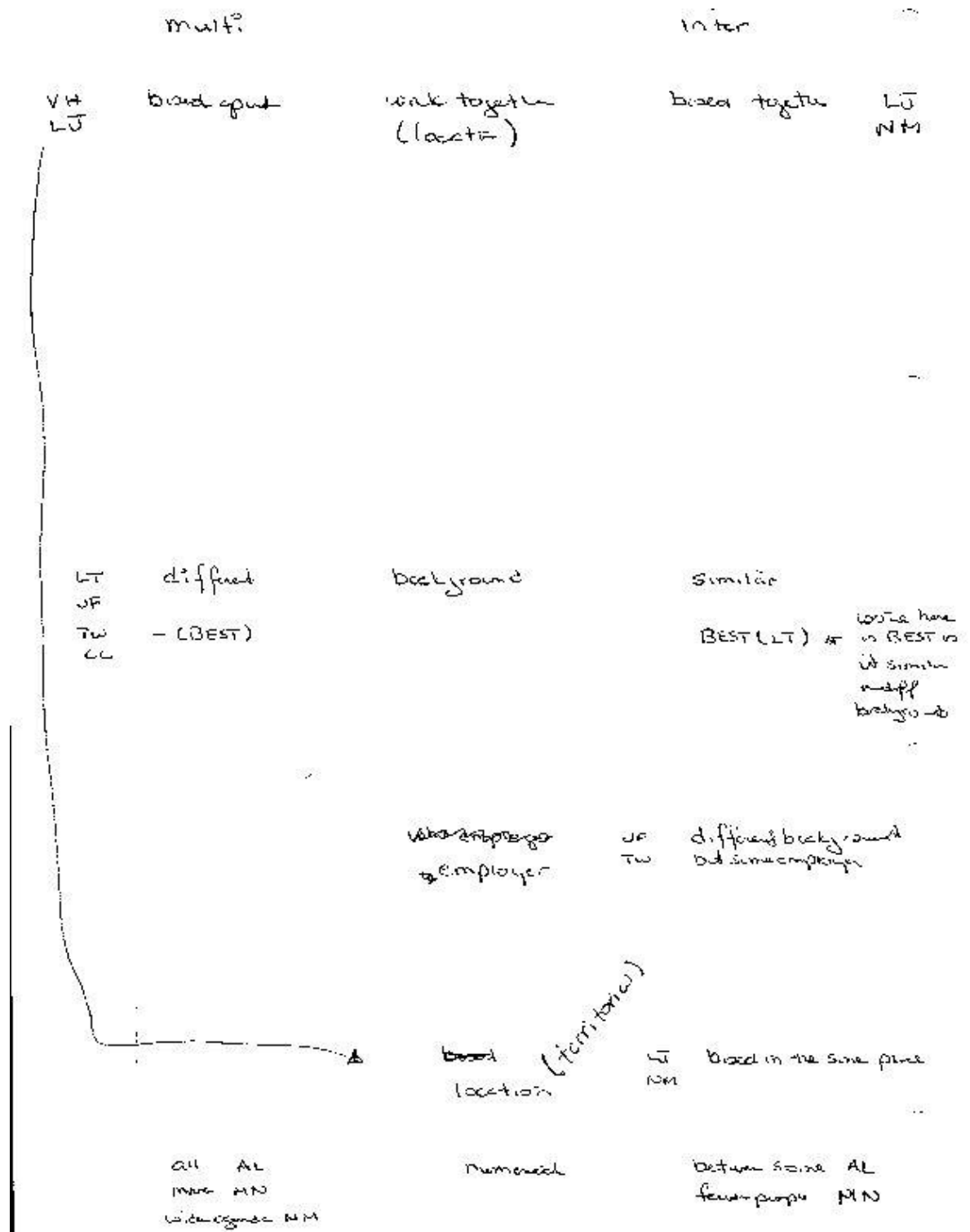
MN: inter-agency has people ^{than} are involved in multi-agency ~~that are not working~~

inter-agency would be smaller

CC defines individual roles according to responsibilities not over arching ones they fit in

also look at diff in knowledge of being a teacher { does experience have anything to do with these views

NM has much broader view of what agencies do when sent a head



Differences between multi-agency + interagency?

- VH → multi-agency - all based together in one place
multi-agency - work together but are based in professional teams
- LT → multi-agency all from different services and backgrounds
interagency - all members have a similar background experience (BEST)
- JF → multi-agency - a team made up of workers from a number of different agencies
→ interagency - workers with different experiences but employed by the same agency
- TW → interagency - a single agency with those working within it with different clients, although they are with the same agency
→ multi-agency (BEST)
- LS → interagency - working together (based in the same place)
multi-agency - would come together at some point (having to come into

consider - how do you define 'working within a single agency/sector'
e.g. teachers, LM → where does it stop

multi-agency

~~working~~

✓ VHT work together / broad spread

✓ LJ

✓ LT different services / background

✓ JF

✓ TW (BEST)

✓ CC

all

✓ AL

✓ MN more

✓ WM wider agenda

} numerical

inter-agency

✓ LT BEST (all members have a similar background)

✓ JF different organisations but employed by the same agency

✓ TW

✓ LJ working together (based in the same place)

✓ WM (based within school)

between done, leaving others out

✓ AL fewer people involved

✓ MN

Diagram 2

terminal
location
Point level 1st
SSW 1st
fourth 1st
(joint)

Service background
YPU
BEST CO
Aluminum
HOY

numerical
LBP - 1st
Inclusive 1st - 1st (joint)
fourth - 1st (joint)
(joint)

Diagram 3

width / narrow
inclined / curved

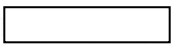
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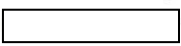
contribution
BEST CO
Aluminum
LBP
HOY
YPU

BEST.BIP



Behaviour and Education Support Team (BEST)

The purpose of 
Behaviour and Education Support
Teams (BEST) is:

**To encourage the desire in
the children and young
people of  to learn
effectively by promoting
emotional well being in
children and young people,
families and schools.**